HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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UNIV OF MINNESOTA
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How Labor Defeated Haynsworth

By VICTOR RIESEL

The full significance of the saga of Judge Clement Haynsworth Jr. has been overlooked even in this river town of Washington. It is the labor movement's fantastic lobby and national political network which actually defeated the judge and the President in one of the most spectacular and highly pressurized campaigns ever launched on the Hill.

And this is understatement. It is evidence of what did happen, can happen and will happen when labor and the black movements unite instead of fight.

After the count was in, one White House aide muttered: "Those labor lobbyists are the best headhunters and head counters since Congress was invented." He is right. Atty. Gen. John Mitchell opined that he had not expected to be chosen the union man of 1969 for his sponsorship of the South Carolinian judge, but he was astounded by the force of labor's national campaign. His astonishment is justified.

The attorney general now knows that AFL-CIO President George Meany was right when he said recently: "I think, frankly, we have the most effective lobby in Washington."

This lobby is over 100 strong when mobilized. Its permanent complement in this capital runs 25 men and women, all the way from the portly 63-year-old ex-Congressman Andrew Biemiller, who was the anti-Haynsworth chief-of-staff, to petite Evelyn Dubrow, of Louis Sulberg's ladies' garment workers union. Both were Lyndon Johnson's first-name favorites.

It is this team which helped put over President Nixon's ABM program. It is this team which beat him on the Supreme Court appointment.

It is powerful because behind it is the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) which reaches out into over 1,000 communities from horseshoe bends to teeming ghettos.

The fight against Judge Clement Haynsworth (left) was the latest in a long string of political campaigns Big Labor has waged with union dues. Two of the senators who voted against Haynsworth were Indiana's Vance Hartke and Connecticut's Tom Dodd, both of whom are up for re-election next year. Hartke and Dodd have consistently voted pro-labor.

I estimate the labor movement spent over $60 million in last year's elect-Humphrey campaign. COPE registered over 4.6 million new voters. From this city it dispatched 55 million leaflets. From regional headquarters it deluged the country with another 60 million, making 115 million in all.

If COPE's own figures are accurate —and why not?—some 24,000 union officials and volunteer squads used over 8,055 phones in nearly 700 cities. At the very least, this would make over 200 million calls. COPE's vote-finding computer in the Machinists' headquarters whirred daily like a frozen custard machine at a Labor Day picnic.

All this, then, is the political gear set into motion early this summer when word came to the AFL-CIO's national office that President Nixon planned to appoint Judge Haynsworth. To the inner high command this meant the ascension to the bench of a representative of the "Southern establishment," a judge who had ruled against unions in seven cases, a man opposed by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and a jurist accused by the Textile Workers union of conflict of interest.

Senate heads were counted. Mr. Meany's office totalled eight "friends" in the upper house opposed to Judge Haynsworth. The federation's legal staff split on the pragmatic advisability of "getting" Haynsworth and thus giving the President a political drubbing. But liberal associate counsel Tom Harris won out. The fight started.

First Messrs. Harris and Meany quietly sought out assistant Atty. Gen. Jerris Leonard and White House urbanologist Pat Moynihan to urge them to warn the President not to make the formal appointment. Then a telegram was dispatched to the Western White House directly to the President offering much the same advice. There were no replies.

Labor mobilized. By October 30 labor's head-counters reported 49 senators solidly against Judge Haynsworth —and that at least three of the undecided 10 would reject the Southern jurist.

This made a minimum of 52 against. That's bull's-eye reckoning. The final count was 55 against.

This was not done with mirrors. Typical is the United Steelworkers of America led by I.W. Abel. His Washington legislative director (lobbyist) is Jack Sheehan. Mr. Sheehan moved on two fronts. He pressured and argued directly. And he would phone his own constituency, say, in Indiana where steelworkers are massed. His word would go to local steel union officials. They in turn would stir their tens of thousands of members. The officials themselves would then reflect this sentiment in calls to their Democratic senator, Vance Hartke.

Mr. Hartke voted against the appointment. He probably would have anyway. But it was not lost on him nor on the steelworkers' rank and file that he is up for re-election next November. Thus it was with the wavering Tom Dodd, who must also campaign next year. And many others.

At the other side of the pincers were black leaders with whom labor always has cooperated—Clarence Mitchell, counsel to the NAACP here and Bayard Rustin, the voice of aging A. Philip Randolph, an AFL-CIO vice president.

Counsellor Tom Harris did virtually all the research. Big Andy Biemiller, "Mr. Labor Lobby," pressured on the Hill. The COPE machine reached into the nation. The lines for 1970 were drawn.

And basically labor's message to the White House was—we did not fight Judge Haynsworth because he is conservative; after all, we did not fight the appointment of Chief Justice Warren Burger. We fought him because he is a conservative who had ruled against the movement and we consider him anti-labor. This is the vital issue. President Nixon probably will appoint the balance-of-power jurists in the next few years. For decades they will shape the nation as it hurtles into the 21st Century.

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NEWSPAPER

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Despite Press Outcries

Agnew Now Secure on '72 Ticket

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Capital Briefs

● While the liberals were acclaiming John Lindsay's 42 per cent plurality victory in the recent New York elections, scant attention was paid to Borough President **Robert T. Connor**'s smashing majority win on Staten Island. Connor, running on both the Republican and Conservative parties' lines for re-election, rolled up a 3-to-1 margin over his two opponents, receiving more votes than any candidate in the history of Staten Island. He even gathered more votes on the Conservative line than his Democratic opponent did on the Democratic line. A frequent critic of Lindsay, Connor is now being pushed in some quarters to run for higher office, including the Senate seat now held by Charles Goodell.

● Leading Illinois Republicans say that Sen. **Charles Percy** is certain to have "major" opposition when he seeks renomination in 1972. "The Haynsworth thing was the straw that broke the camel's back," one GOP congressman was quoted as saying. "We told him bluntly that we regarded this as a key test of party loyalty and he went out and flunked."

● The Senate's refusal to confirm Judge **Clement Haynsworth Jr.** to the Supreme Court may actually hurt rather than help the GOP's "Southern Strategy," according to some politicos. Sen. Ernest Hollings, the South Carolina Democrat who was Haynsworth's chief Senate sponsor, has told friends that it's difficult to ask Southern Democrats to become Republicans when the Administration can't even carry its own Senate leaders, notably Hugh Scott and Robert Griffin, when crucial issues come up for a vote.

● President Nixon's ban on biological warfare will probably be of great aid to Rep. **Richard McCarthy**, the liberal New York Democrat who holds a congressional seat from a normally Republican area. Though McCarthy complained that the President didn't go far enough in limiting chemical and biological weapons, McCarthy has been in the forefront of the fight to limit them—and now it looks as if he singlehandedly persuaded the President to take action.

● Hubert Humphrey's critical attack on Vice President Spiro Agnew's speech "bowled this columnist over," wrote the Washington Evening Star's **Betty Beale** last week. After the 1968 Democratic National Convention, Miss Beale says, she wrote a column criticizing TV for "bossism of the airwaves, wherein provocation of police action was played down or not reported, only their reaction, giving the viewers a completely false impression. Among the hundreds of congratulatory letters. . . was one from the former vice president. . . . Ah, me! You can get into a fix—playing politics."

● Another supporter of Agnew's, says Miss Beale: former Secretary of State **Dean Acheson.**

● Liberals snickered when detective **Charles S. Stenvig** announced his candidacy for mayor of Minneapolis on a platform that pledged to "take the handcuffs off police" and cut crime. But Minneapolis voters gave Stenvig 62 per cent of the vote and he is now making good on his promises. Crime is down 5 per cent and police morale is up sharply. "The men have begun to feel they can do their job," explains Deputy Police Chief Eugene Wilson. "If the guys figure you're with them, they're going to do a better job."

● Should church organizations be tax exempt if they promote revolution? No fewer than three Chicago churches, it was discovered last week, were found to be providing facilities for the militant **Black Panther party** to hold classes on guerrilla warfare tactics and the teachings of Communist leader Mao Tse-tung.

● A member of the House Armed Services Committee has denounced Sen. **Charles Goodell** (R.-N.Y.) for consulting with radical-leftists before drafting his bill calling for unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops from Viet Nam. Rep. Sam Stratton (D.-N.Y.) noted published reports—confirmed by Goodell's office—that the senator conferred with leaders of the Viet Nam Moratorium Committee, promising them legislation prohibiting the deployment of U.S. troops in Viet Nam. Noting the pro-Hanoi views of certain Moratorium leaders, Stratton said: "No wonder Hanoi figures it can safely refuse to negotiate in Paris; they've now got their boys drafting legislation for a United States senator."

● The popularity of **Teddy Kennedy** continues to plummet. That's the verdict of pollster George Gallup, who finds that four months after Chappaquiddick Teddy's fortunes are sinking. In March 49 per cent of those interviewed gave the Massachusetts senator a highly favorable rating. In July, just after the accident, the rating had fallen off to 34 per cent. By November only 28 per cent of those surveyed gave Kennedy a highly favorable rating.

● Rep. **Richard L. Roudebush** (R.-Ind.) has called upon Atty. Gen. John Mitchell to prosecute the radical-leftists who hauled down and burned an American flag at the Justice Department during the recent anti-war demonstration. In a letter to Mitchell, Roudebush said, "this act was perpetrated in full view of thousands of rioters and numerous Justice Department officials as well as members of the press." Roudebush is the author of the 1968 Flag Desecration Act, which provides up to a year in jail for offenders.

● Radical-leftists with close ties to Fidel Castro have stepped up their activity in the U.S. commonwealth of **Puerto Rico.** Only last week 10,000 youths marched through San Juan, chanting "Yanqui go home!" Demonstrators were called upon to "arm youselves to the teeth to fight Yanqui imperialism."

● Octogenarian Rep. **William L. Dawson** (D.-Ill.), chairman of the House Government Operations Committee, has decided not to seek re-election next fall. Fellow liberal **Chet Holifield** (D.-Calif.) will succeed Dawson as committee chairman if the Democrats retain House control.

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Showdown on Fannin Amendment

The hot debate over tax reform has gotten under way in the Senate and this week a showdown is expected on Sen. Paul Fannin's (R.-Ariz.) labor reform amendment. The Fannin measure, which lost on a tie vote in the Finance Committee when Sen. Herman Talmadge (D.-Ga.) refused to make an appearance, would go a long way toward putting unions on the same political footing as businesses.

As reported on these pages previously, the Arizonan's offering would strip away the tax-exempt status of any union that uses its dues and assessments for politicking—such as chipping in funds for a particular party, supporting or opposing candidates for public offices and mounting partisan voter registration drives.

The AFL-CIO, through its Committee on Political Education (COPE), has screamed clear across the country that the Fannin amendment is unfair to labor. Yet the Fannin measure does nothing more than take away preferential treatment for unions and force them to comply with the same rules that apply to such pro-business groups as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce.

With the Fannin amendment in effect, a labor organization can do all the politicking it wants to—it would just have to pay taxes like every other organization engaged in equivalent activities. If it wants to avoid taxes, then it would have to abide by the same rules as other tax-exempt organizations.

Fannin, furthermore, has redrafted the amendment he offered in committee so there can be no doubt that it applies to all tax-exempt organizations. Thus the labor unions can no longer argue that this is punitive legislation directed only at unions.

The Fannin measure is urgently needed, for only labor organizations are permitted to use, tax free, millions upon millions of dollars for political purposes. Largely drawing its financial sustenance from tax-free, compulsory union dues, Big Labor was considered the single most decisive factor in enabling Hubert Humphrey to so dramatically close the gap in the presidential race last year. According to objective observers, the labor barons anted up over $60 million to advance Humphrey's bid.

The reckless use of Big Labor's political power was recently seen in the Haynsworth nomination, where the labor barons whipped up a prejudicial campaign that torpedoed his nomination to the Supreme Court—all because of Haynsworth's refusal to kowtow to the union bosses in labor rulings.

The chief Senate "torpedo" against Haynsworth was Birch Bayh, the Indiana Democrat who received nearly $70,000 in campaign funds from organized

FANNIN

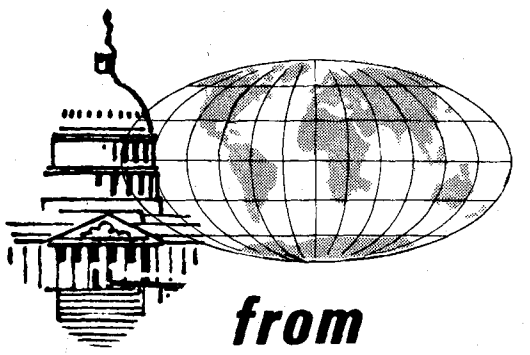
TALMADGE

labor last year. Bayh, furthermore, acknowledges that the labor leaders came to him for aid in their anti-Haynsworth campaign and even helped compile Bayh's error-strewn "bill of particulars" against the judge. The question is, why should the unions be able to do all this politicking with tax-free funds?

Even in the tax-reform measure, the AFL-CIO has been clearly flexing its political muscles, getting U.S. lawmakers to adopt a wide variety of provisions pushed by the union chieftains. The giant labor federation, for instance, has for months been campaigning to remove the 7 per cent investment tax credit for business, reduce the oil depletion allowance and clamp down on tax-exempt foundations—all of which have been tentatively approved in both Houses of Congress.

But when the Senate Finance Committee was about to adopt a curb on labor's activities, the unions immediately—and successfully—mobilized to block it, thus once again proving their awesome hold over Congress.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

AFL-CIO President George Meany insists he wants "tax justice." He says he wants "a strong reform bill." He also wants the Senate "to watch out for lobbyists seeking to preserve and widen their special interest loopholes." If he means it, then why does he oppose the Fannin amendment?

Every member of the Senate will have an opportunity to go on record when Sen. Fannin offers his amendment to the tax bill on the Senate floor. The issue will provide a unique test of "ethics" for senators who owe their elections to union politicking and bleed all over the floor about closing tax loopholes. The big question is: will they vote to preserve a special loophole under which captive union members are compelled to finance these senators' political campaigns?

Crane Wins Rumsfeld Seat

The conservative movement has a dynamic new spokesman on Capitol Hill—Philip M. Crane, the handsome, one-time professor who was elected to Congress from Illinois' 13th Congressional District in a special election last Tuesday.

CRANE

Director of research for the Illinois Goldwater organization in 1964 and a member of the National Advisory Board of Young Americans for Freedom, Crane captured more than 58 per cent of the vote, defeating liberal Democrat Edward A. Warman by 20,000 ballots. The outspoken conservative succeeds the more liberally inclined Donald Rumsfeld, who resigned his seat to head the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Crane had captured the nomination in a hard-fought primary less than two months ago. Campaigning as a "no-nonsense conservative" in his first try for public office, Crane defeated nine other Republicans in the primary, then consolidated his support for the general election.

Crane made runaway inflation a major issue in both campaigns, noting that domestic spending has risen $68 billion in eight years. He also called for slashing social welfare programs and attributed his strength among women voters to the fact "they see inflation every time they go to the grocery store."

Viet Nam emerged as another key issue, with Crane supporting the President, and Democrat Warman calling for unilateral withdrawal by the end of 1970. Crane hit hard at Warman's support of the November 13-15 Moratorium, arguing that his opponent was lining up with radical-leftists who sought the military defeat of the United States.

Aside from attracting the voters because of his stand on the issues, Crane had a crackerjack campaign organization, headed by former St. Louis, Mo., legislator Jerry Harkins, who captained the Missouri for Reagan group in last year's presidential campaign.

President Nixon reached Crane by phone within minutes after the returns were in, congratulating the congressman-elect on his victory, and asking him "to come and see me as soon as you get to Washington." "We've won a beautiful victory here for you," Crane exclaimed.

Liberal Republicans who hope to defeat Crane for renomination next spring noted that he received "only" 58 per cent of the vote. (Rumsfeld chalked up 64 per cent of the vote in his first try.) But the Chicago *Sun-Times* noted that the primary and general election were held within a seven-week period, "allowing much less time than usual for party wounds to heal."

Indeed, Crane received only nominal support from several of his primary opponents, who made clear they were considering another try next spring. Filing deadline for the 1970 primary is December 15, with Samuel H. Young of Glenview considered the most likely candidate to enter the race.

If Young does run, he may campaign as a "moderate," an interesting reversal from this year's form. Young then ran on a strong law-and-order platform and called for governmental economy, winning the endorsement of the Chicago *Tribune*.

The *Tribune* gave Crane all-out support in the general election and is certain to back his renomination.

Congress' newest member is already being touted as a potential challenger for liberal Chuck Percy's Senate seat in 1972. But Crane says only that he will run for re-election in 1970; that 1972 is "too far away" to make definite plans at this time.

UNICEF's Donation to Hanoi

Santa Claus may pay a visit to Hanoi right after Christmas, bearing gifts from the United Nation's Children's Fund (UNICEF). The United States, apparently, has acquiesced to UNICEF's bestowing $200,000 in aid on North Viet Nam—the first fund allocation to Hanoi by any United Nations agency. A UNICEF spokesman confirmed the $200,000 figure, but regarded it as just an initial installment on a possibly continuing program.

The announcement date, according to Newark's *Star-Ledger,* would probably be in early January, a date calculated to stifle any U.S. congressional or public outcry which might slice into American contributions to UNICEF's $50-million budget for 1970. By then, Congress will presumably have completed action on the 1970 budget for the Agency for International Development (AID), including $13 million for UNICEF. Also, the UNICEF holiday card campaign, which brings in more than $3.2 million annually, will be over.

Since the word has leaked out, however, Congress still has a chance to give some close scrutiny to its UNICEF budget.

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Riponers in the White House

Seemingly struck by a streak of masochism, the Nixon Administration keeps hiring members and associates of the alleged "Republican" Ripon Society to do some of its various chores. The society's "Republicanism" can be gleaned from its enthusiastic endorsement of John Lindsay in the recent New York mayoralty contest and its support of Allard K. Lowenstein, a radical Democrat, for Congress in 1968.

Revealing his "Republicanism," Michael F. Brewer, Ripon's political director, trekked to Washington the weekend of November 15 to aid the Moratorium and Mobilization leaders demonstrate for an immediate, unilateral withdrawal from Viet Nam. Nevertheless, the Riponers keep showing up on the White House payroll.

The Ripon associates who have been working in the White House are Lee Huebner, former president of the society, who has been serving as a speech writer for the President; Christopher DeMuth, once a Ripon secretary, who has been working in urbanologist Pat Moynihan's shop; John Price, a Ripon founder, has been another Moynihan helper.

Peter J. Wallison, chairman of the Ripon Board, and Thomas Petri, recently the national executive director of Ripon's Cambridge headquarters, have been working on government reorganization. Other Riponers who have been working at the White House include Bruce Rabb, Robert Davidson and Josiah Auspitz. Nor does this exhaust the number of Riponers at the White House. And how many may be serving in other government agencies has not yet been looked into.

The purpose of the Riponers is clear. As Huebner himself has said: "We lost the struggle with the conservatives over the tone and content of Nixon's campaign. Now we've got to win the struggle over his presidential policies." Riponer Petri adds: "The members of this Administration will be receiving a lot of pressure from the right. If we exert pressure from the left, we can make it easier for them to move in a moderate direction."

The 'Pinkville Massacre'

The Red appeasement faction in this country is using the alleged "Pinkville massacre"—where American soldiers are said to have executed up to 500 innocent Viet Nam civilians in a Viet Cong stronghold—as a pretext to blacken the reputation of the United States and pressure the U.S. into hastening its troop withdrawals from South Viet Nam.

The liberal news media, including the New York *Times*, the New York *Post*, etc., are now suggesting or proclaiming there is no difference between the U.S. and the Viet Cong and are even likening America to Nazi Germany. Pete Hamill of the *Post* wrote that the government should sentence not only the handful of men responsible for Pinkville but "Lyndon Johnson, Hubert Humphrey, Walt Rostow, the Bundys and all the rest." The trial, he said, should be held in "a town called Nuremburg."

Yet experts on the subject of communism in the Nation's Capital classify these hysterical verbal outpourings by the liberals as so much self-serving hogwash. For one thing, it is pointed out, the U.S., unlike the Communists, has not made it a policy to murder innocent civilians. Quite the contrary.

Each American soldier in Viet Nam, in fact, is handed, upon arrival, special rules which are read to him twice a year and specifically oppose harsh treatment for civilians. One provision reads: "All practicable means will be employed to limit the risk to the lives and property of friendly forces and civilians; and to avoid the violation of operational and national boundaries. This directive will not be modified by subordinate commanders, nor will directives modifying or interpreting substantive rules in the directive be published by subordinate commands."

Another provision reads: "Mistreatment of any captive is a criminal offense. Every soldier is personally responsible for the enemy in his hands. It is both dishonorable and foolish to mistreat a captive. It is also a punishable offense. . . . Fair treatment of captives encourages the enemy to surrender." These rules were in effect long before the alleged massacre.

Equally important, the U.S. Army—as far back as March—began vigorously investigating the incident, even to the point of sending investigators to Pinkville and preventing the discharge of Lt.William L. Calley, now charged with murdering 109 Viet Nam civilians. These actions were taken long before the press in recent weeks began to blow up the incident into a sort of American Buchenwald.

Assuming even all the charges against Lt. William Calley are true—and his side has yet to be heard from on the matter—the hard fact remains that such incidents are clearly isolated phenomena.

The Communists in Viet Nam, on the other hand, have not only engaged in isolated atrocities, but have

Highlighting Viet Cong and North Vietnamese atrocities, weeping Hue survivors claim the bodies of those slain during the 1968 Tet offensive.

made it official policy—as Communists have the world over—to engage in the murdering of hundreds of thousands of innocent men, women and children.

While the news media was playing up the Pinkville incident, a former North Vietnamese Army officer, Lt. Col. Le Xuyen Chuyen, who defected to the south after 21 years of Communist party leadership, revealed to a Scripps-Howard reporter in Saigon last week that the Communists had at least five million—*five million*—on what he called the Communists' "blood debt" lists.

Col. Chuyen declared that for every 100 on the lists 10 to 15 would pay with their lives, another 40 would be imprisoned and the rest would undergo "thought reform." Included on the lists are a million Catholic refugees who fled North Viet Nam, some two million South Vietnamese troops, government officials down to the hamlet level and paramilitary groups, more than 100,000 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong defectors, some 100,000 South Vietnamese working for the Americans and numerous elements of the "bourgeois" class.

Captured enemy documents substantiate the claim. "Even after the Fatherland is completely liberated the fight will continue, fierce and complicated," reads one such document. It continues: "Then the real tasks of eliminating reactionaries, informants, American henchmen, religionists, etc., will begin."

That massacres and atrocities have become official policy of the Communists in North Viet Nam has long been known. Ho Chi Minh systematically slaughtered an estimated half-million peasants during his land reform program in the '50s, while some 20,000 civilians, including village chieftains, priests, government officials, hospital workers, etc., have been murdered by the Reds since the Viet Cong unleashed their terror campaign in the south.

In relation to the Hue massacre, the Communists have boasted about their "execution squads" having systematically murdered some 3,000 civilians—men, women and children. A Red document called the Hue massacre a complete success, stating: "Hue was the place where reactionary spirit had existed for over 10 years. However, it only took us a short time to drain it to its roots." On April 27, 1969, a Hanoi radio broadcast boasted that the bodies then being discovered in the Hue area were "hooligan lackeys who had owed blood debts. . . ."

As one observer summed up the situation last week: "Only a liberal would fail to distinguish between what happened at Pinkville and the calculated atrocity policy of the Communists."

• The newly formed Dispatch News Service, which generated such wide publicity for the "Pinkville massacre," is a propaganda medium for the New Left and its allies. Seymour Hersh, who helped set up the service, located in the National Press Building in Washington, has been the recipient of a $1,000 grant from the Philip M. Stern Foundation, a chief contributor to leftist causes. The "service" is also preparing to employ the writings of Prof. Seymour Melman, a unilateral disarmament advocate. It has also distributed to various newspapers a series on the Viet war by author Richard Barnet, co-director of the tax-exempt Institute for Policy Studies, a radical think-tank in Washington. (For more on IPS, see *Human Events,* October 25, page 8.) Barnet, while visiting North Viet Nam recently, was quoted by Hanoi radio on November 13 as welcoming a Communist victory in South Viet Nam. Hanoi radio quoted Barnet as saying to the North Vietnamese:

"In the few days that we've been in Hanoi and in the provinces, we have good reason not to despair and the message that we would bring back with us is the message that the Vietnamese will continue to fight against the aggressors, the same aggressors that we will continue to fight in our own country. . . ."

Private Postal Systems Thrive

A private postal system that is competing head-on with the deficit-ridden U.S. Post Office is picking up business from coast to coast by offering customers lower rates and better service.

The Independent Postal System of America (IPSA), set up in Oklahoma City 18 months ago to handle third-class mail, is now operating in 37 cities and will expand its operations to another half-dozen cities by the end of the year. And IPSA—which delivers third-class or "junk" mail at rates considerably below that of the government—is considering franchise applications from 2,000 more cities and towns.

But IPSA is not the only private carrier competing with—and besting—the government-operated Post Office. An Associated Press survey shows that the privately operated Parcel Post Service is awaiting governmental approval to expand its interstate operations in nine more states, for a total of 46.

Air Freight, REA express, the Greyhound Corp., and other private firms are also expanding their business at governmental expense. Post Office officials privately admire the efficiency of the non-government operations.

"We'd like to have their flexibility," says a Post Office spokesman, "to make a contract with a truck line, if that is the cheapest or quickest way to haul something—or the railroads, or jumbo air freighters. We're trying to get that kind of freedom."

But the day may be some time off. The Administration plan to reorganize the postal system into a business-type corporation has been blocked in House committee, with credit going to the politically powerful postal unions.

At the same time, the unions are pressing for a $1.5-billion pay hike that would lead to further deficits—and deterioration in postal service. The pay raise, approved by the House, is threatened with a presidential veto.

Union leaders are applying the pressure for Senate acceptance—threatening the nation's first postal strike if action is not forthcoming. President James Rademacher of the National Association of Letter Carriers

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has warned that he will be "unable" to prevent his 200,000 members from snarling Christmas deliveries by taking their sick leave in protest against governmental "inaction."

Percy Urges Ethics Standards

Sen. Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), who voted against the confirmation of Judge Clement Haynsworth on ethical grounds, has called for passage of a bill sponsored by 20 senators which would require public disclosure of financial holdings by all federal legislators, candidates for federal office and their top aides.

PERCY

Unlike some of his other liberal colleagues, Percy has at least acknowledged that new standards of ethics may have been applied to the South Carolina judge and urges that the same standards be applied to congressmen as well.

"It would be ironical," he noted last week, "if the ethical searchlight that has just been trained on the Haynsworth nomination were to be put out now that the case is closed. . . .

"Can we honestly contend that his. . .behavior departed radically from accepted rules of behavior and from ill-defined standards that are now employed in the very body that failed to confirm his nomination?

"Should we have a totally different code for judges and administrators than we have for legislators regarding their associations, their commitments and their obligations?. . .

"Unfortunately, the zeal of Congress to disclose private holdings and thereby prevent a conflict of interest in the executive and judicial branches does not extend to itself."

Promising to place his own holdings in a "blind trust," Percy also wondered whether lawmakers should disqualify themselves from voting on legislation which would directly benefit them. He also questioned whether members of Congress should be allowed to own television or radio stations, or sit on the boards of banks, mutual funds or companies that are regulated by the government and receive a substantial portion of profits from government dealings.

Whatever the intrinsic merits of the Percy proposals, say politicos, they would at least show that Congress is not playing the moral hypocrite when it questions somebody else's ethical standards.

First National Debunks Myth

While the Congress continues to lavish billions on federal aid to education projects, the First National City Bank of New York has conducted a study showing there is little correlation between the amount of money spent on ghetto children—predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican—and their rate of achievement.

"This raises the question," said the just-released survey, "whether or not continued indiscriminate funding will in and of itself necessarily increase educational output proportionately."

According to the report, the per-student costs in 150 of New York City schools where 90 per cent or more of the environment was black or Puerto Rican in the 1967-68 school year ranged from $529 to $1,560. The figures take into account all the schools' expenditures, from teachers' salaries to school equipment.

But no matter what the student costs, the improvement rates of students were about equal in all the schools.

Price of the Moratorium

That three-day "peaceful moratorium" in the Nation's Capital cost the federal taxpayer over $1.5 million, with an additional $240,000 tab being picked up by private business interests. While the kids were doing their peace thing, in fact, they caused some 606 persons to be injured and 361 to be arrested. Treatment was administered to individuals at six area hospitals and various first aid stations for everything from trauma to tear-gas effects. Twenty-six police officers were among those needing medical attention.

Over-all costs to keep the kiddies calm included $936,088 for standby military support of civil authority; $437,776 in overtime pay for members of the three major metropolitan area police departments; $91,760 in General Services Administration costs; $38,497 for support personnel of the U. S. Marshals Service and Justice Department legal divisions, and $8,500 for debris removal.

During their tranquil stay, the young ones smashed 111 windows in 20 government buildings and an untold number in 503 area firms. The Justice Department and the Internal Revenue Service figure repairs for their buildings will cost at least ten grand. In forwarding their anti-violence campaign, the peace pushers also did $12,000 damage to U. S. park property and $6,000 to 76 law-enforcement vehicles. Peace, anyone?

Is Vietnamization Working?

Gratifying reports on the "Vietnamization" of the Mekong Delta, for years a Communist stronghold, came last week from a long-time critic of the Saigon government.

In 1963 Lt. Col. John Paul Vann resigned his commission—and his post as a top U.S. adviser to the Vietnamese army—to speak out against the corruption and lack of progress made by Saigon. He returned to the front as an AID adviser but told newsmen in 1965 that Saigon's effort to extend control and promote the economy were a total failure.

But the situation is far different today, Vann told the Chicago Tribune's Samuel Jameson recently. Vann, who heads the Delta's 3,400-man pacification advisory team, said that the Thieu government has been growing stronger at the same time the Communists were becoming weaker.

"In 1965 it was a safe bet that as many people supported the Communists as supported the government," he said. "If an election had been held at that time, the Viet Cong probably could have won more than 35 per cent of the votes and become the dominant group in South Viet Nam."

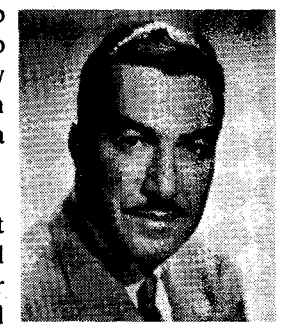
In an election today, he continued, the Reds would not get more than 15 per cent of the vote. Vann noted these signs of progress in the Delta, where six million Vietnamese live:

- For the first time in this decade, road travel to every provincial capital is possible without military escort.
- The Vietnamese 21st Division is now engaging the Communists in the U Minh forest in the southernmost portion of the Delta, which has been a Communist stronghold for 25 years.
- While the Communists were long able to export guerrillas from the Delta, they are now forced to bring North Vietnamese troops into the area for the first time.

Vann, who still finds considerable fault with the Vietnamese government, expressed the view that the dramatic turnabout is attributable largely to the Communists' defeat in the Tet offensive and to growing revulsion against Viet Cong terror.

Same Old Powell

The Amsterdam *News* in New York City reports that Congressman Adam Clayton Powell was recently handed a "shape up or ship out" ultimatum by a group of black Fordham University students who walked out on Powell while he was making a speech.



POWELL

"Congressman Powell must shape up as a more dignified congressman and minister or ship out," the paper quoted one student as saying. "He must serve us on the Hill full-time as our representative or resign his position. If he fails to mend his ways in a hurry, there are many here on the Fordham campus who will join me in actively campaigning against him."

(As of October 31, there were 113 rollcall votes in the House of Representatives. Powell had voted on only 14, or about 12 per cent.)

In the question-and-answer period following his talk, Powell ran into more flak from the black students.

Several students were angered when Powell kept citing his past record in answer to questions about what he is doing now for black people.

"Congressman Powell," asked one student, "I mean just what are you doing now? My question is not what did you do 10 years ago." The paper reported that Powell was "visibly shaken" by this question and answered "nothing."

Another student complained about Powell's "baggy gray suit," his long cigar and his arrogant manner of speech:

"My congressman has to be dignified, impressive, dress like a congressman. My congressman cannot and must not act like a clown or puppet. . . ," he said.

Despite old Adam's double-talk, less and less people appear to be keeping the faith.

AGNEW REPRINTS

Vice President Agnew's Montgomery, Ala., speech, printed on the opposite page, his November 13 speech dealing with television network bias, and his earlier speech on the subject of free speech and dissent, have been assembled into a four-page reprint entitled **"Vice President Agnew Speaks Out."**

Use the coupon below to order copies of this reprint for wide distribution to help fight bias in the broadcast and printed communications media and counter the radicalism of the anti-war demonstrators.

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5. **"Five Myths That Beset Us"** by Senator Henry M. Jackson. Prices: 35¢ each; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

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20. **"Vice President Agnew Speaks Out": The Vice President's Des Moines, Harrisburg and Montgomery Speeches.** Prices: 35¢ each; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $20.

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7. **The Faith We Have Not Kept** by Senator Strom Thurmond, 192 pages, $1.

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9. **The War for the World** by General Thomas Lane, 252 pages, $1.

10. **The Crime Game** by John D'Alfonso, 269 pages, $1.

11. **Safe, Not Sorry** by Phyllis Schlafly, 189 pages, $1.

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You Think It's Easy to Get a Postage Meter Slogan?

After 16 months, a Louisiana attorney can finally have 'Fight Communism' on his letters

By JOHN R. THISTLETHWAITE in the Opelousas (La.) *Daily World*

We told here recently about an unidentified professional man in the area who could not get the company making his postal meter to insert the slogan "Fight Communism" for his mailed matter until he finally sued them. We got this information from reliable second-hand sources, and could not contact the man himself, as he was away at the time.

Well, the fellow is Eunice, La., attorney Jacque B. Pucheu. He *really* had a go-round with that meter company, and he sent us his correspondence file on the whole thing.

Perhaps you will be interested in the tribulations which must be suffered in some circumstances—and with the strangest people—in order to "Fight Communism" publicly.

The written file starts on July 16, 1968, and extends through this October 17, when District Judge Joseph A. LaHaye signed a "Motion to Dismiss."

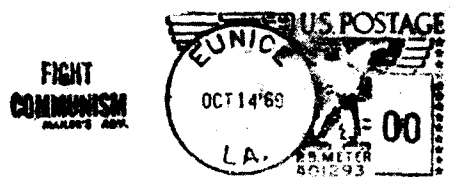
The motion tells the story in brief:

"On motion of Jacque B. Pucheu, plaintiff in the captioned matter (*Pucheu vs. Pitney-Bowes, Inc.*), and on suggesting to the court that the defendant, Pitney-Bowes, Inc., has furnished the plaintiff with one meter ad plate containing the slogan 'Fight Communism,' as shown by an imprint of said slogan appearing at the bottom of this motion, and for these reasons plaintiff wishes to dismiss his suit, therefore, it is:

"*Ordered, Adjudged and Decreed* that this suit be dismissed at plaintiff's cost. Opelousas, Louisiana, this 17th day of October, 1969."

Here is the imprint of the postage meter ad plate which required of attorney Pucheu one year and five months of letter-writing, and longer than that counting the early oral demands (it is reproduced here same size).

You will observe that Pitney-Bowes did not exactly knock themselves out to provide a handsome, king-size "Fight Communism." Also, that they hedged it carefully with the underline "Mailer's Adv."



Here is a brief chronology of the fight that attorney Pucheu had to wage in order to urge on his mailed matter that people "Fight Communism," the sworn and implacable foe of the democratic world:

July 16, 1968—He wrote to Pitney-Bowes, Inc., reminding that he had requested the slogan "Fight Communism" on his postage meter; that he was not provided such an imprint plate; that now he is informed by their representative that he is not allowed to place such a message on his postage meter, and would Pitney-Bowes please explain why.

Aug. 5, 1968—He wrote jointly to U.S. Sen. Russell Long and Congressman Edwin Edwards, reporting that he had been advised by Pitney-Bowes that the use of the slogan "Fight Communism" violated Postal Manual regulations as set forth in Part 124 and Sect. 14348. Pucheu said, in part:

". . . Communism is in a death struggle with Democracy and if a believer in Democracy cannot stamp on an envelope the words, 'Fight Communism,' Democracy is indeed giving communism an advantage. . . ." And he urged that they seek to have the postal regulation changed.

Aug. 7, 1968—Long and Edwards responded jointly that they were checking the matter with Post Office Department officials.

Aug. 14, 1968—Pucheu received a copy of a letter of this date from W. M. McMillan of the Post Office Department, directed to Sen. Long, informing that the slogans printed by advertising dies are privately sponsored; are not part of the postage stamp; that the Post Office Department does not censor or pass on content and design, and these are matters determined by the manufacturers and meter users.

(In other words, Pitney-Bowes appears to have stretched the truth about postal regulations in order to hide behind them in dealing with attorney Pucheu.)

Aug. 15, 1968—Long and Edwards sent Pucheu a copy of the above.

Aug. 20, 1968—Pucheu wrote to Pitney-Bowes, enclosed copies of this correspondence, and asked that the company either supply him with the "Fight Communism" plate which their representative had promised upon selling him the postage meter or give him a detailed explanation.

Sept. 11, 1968—Pucheu wrote Pitney-Bowes demanding to know why they had not answered or even acknowledged his letter of Aug. 20.

Sept. 13, 1968—The Pitney-Bowes branch manager responded that he had forwarded the whole file to their Public Relations Department at Stamford, Conn., and was at a loss to know why they had not responded.

Sept. 24, 1968—The vice president for employe and public relations of Pitney-Bowes, James L. Turrentine, wrote a lengthy and involved explanation to Pucheu, which may be boiled down thus: Pitney-Bowes refuses to make political messages—as distinguished from commercial messages—to avoid confusing the public; "Fight Communism" is a political message despite Pucheu's contrary opinion, and they are not going to violate their policy.

Oct. 14, 1968—Pucheu wrote the vice president (F.E.A.P.R.), referring to a telephone conversation they had in which it was stated that P-B would furnish a "Fight Communism" plate, with an advertising credit. He asked that P-B supply this plate. And he wrote, in part, "Communism denotes a system which is designed to destroy democracy. This is not political but, instead, survival. If Pitney-Bowes cannot aid concerned Americans in the fighting of communism it deserves to be severely criticized. . . ."

Dec. 31, 1968—Pucheu again wrote the vice president, stated that he had heard nothing since his letter of October 14, and demanding a "Fight Communism" meter plate within 30 days under threat of a lawsuit.

Jan. 13, 1969—The vice president of P-B wrote, and this time coldly, that the contract for the postage meter signed by Pucheu prohibits him from using any printing plates not approved by the company. The company, he reiterated, does not approve meter ads whose contents are political. "You may not use our leased meter for this purpose," he said.

Undated—Pucheu filed with 27th Judicial District Court a lawsuit, entitled "Petition to Compel Specific Performance of Contract." His file copy is not dated.

Sept. 17, 1969—A New Orleans law firm, referring to the lawsuit, wrote to Pucheu that "within the very near future you will be contacted by a representative of Pitney-Bowes, Inc., with regard to the desired meter ad plate, which, we understand, will contain the slogan 'Fight Communism' with the additional words 'Mailer's Adv.' in substantially reduced print."

Oct. 17, 1969—Judge LaHaye's order closed out the case.

Pucheu writes, in enclosing his file of correspondence, that "I could never truly understand their reluctance to furnish me with the requested message. Pitney-Bowes is a corporation that would not last 10 seconds if communism took over."

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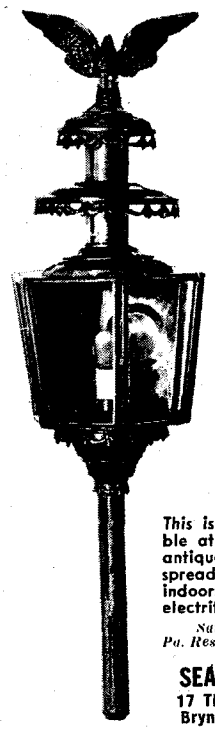

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Agnew Has Spot on '72 Ticket Nailed Down

By TED LEWIS

What Vice President Agnew has going for him right now amounts to a political miracle that all predecessors in the No. 2 spot would have given their right eyes to have achieved.

Agnew has nailed down almost certainly the vice presidential nomination for Nixon's second-term try in 1972. This is the deep-down significance of Agnew's emergence in the role of chief Administration breast-beater for the causes he believes should triumph.

Here it is, the Nixon Administration only in office 10 months, and the grass-roots response to Agnew has been such that it is apparent he cannot be pushed aside in 1972.

This is not to say that Nixon would want anyone else for his next running mate, but Presidents usually like to keep their options open just in case.

Compared with this development of the last few weeks of the Agnew ascendancy, all the controversy over his targets of attack and whether or not the White House unleashed Agnew accidentally or on purpose is two-bit picky stuff.

No vice president in memory ever could be as secure about his political future so far in advance of a re-election campaign. It may well be that Nixon, reflecting on his own experience, wanted Agnew to feel he was indispensable for eight years, and there was no better way to do this than to have his vice president move out early on his own.

Regardless, it should be remembered that Nixon did not get Eisenhower's official okay for a second time in 1956 until the San Francisco nominating convention had opened.

And for months before that, there was a surreptitious inside-the-White-House effort to sell Nixon on the idea that he would be better off, if he wanted to make the presidency in 1960, to take a Cabinet post for the next four years and let someone else, like Harold Stassen, run with Ike.

As John F. Kennedy's vice president, Lyndon Johnson was in a perpetual state of worry over whether Kennedy actually wanted him a second time around. Kennedy was asked often whether it would be LBJ again, and he invariably insisted it would, but Johnson remained unsure of his White House status as long as Kennedy lived.

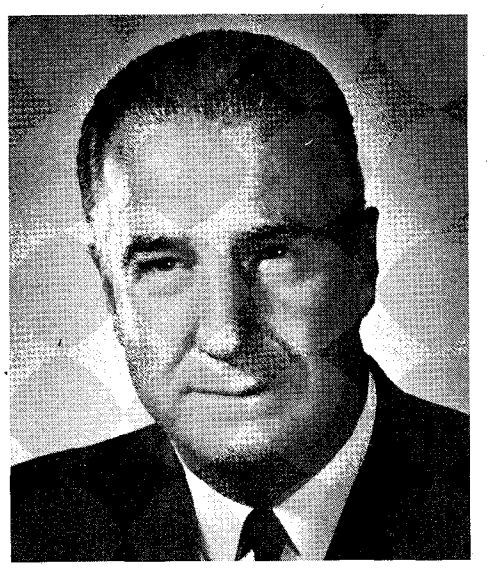
Similarly, Hubert Humphrey as vice president under Lyndon felt it necessary simply to echo the White House line loyally and emphatically. Otherwise, he might not be tapped again. Luckily for Hubert, this worry about his own future was dissolved when Johnson decided in late March 1968 not to run for a second term.

What is happening in the case of Agnew is that the vice presidency has for once attained a totally new dimension. Agnew himself has said emphatically that he intends to elevate his position. For too long have vice presidents been "cartoon characters," with no weight to throw around and no real chance to show the country what they are really like and what they personally think.

Presumably Agnew's views of what the vice presidency should become in the last third of this century have Nixon's blessing.

Yet presidential aides keep on evading the question of whether there is complete White House backing for every strong statement Agnew makes in keeping with his interpretation of his job.

This White House attitude definitely leaves the impression that there is a cautious preference for having Agnew



One of the after-effects of the Agnew TV controversy is that the vice president has indeed become a household word.

take the responsibility for whatever he may say.

This brings up the interesting question of whether at the start there was any realization that Agnew, once given full rein, would catch on with the "great silent majority" as he has.

By criticizing the intellectual "snobs" supporting the anti-war moratoriums, by chastising various television commentators and certain newspapers, he has become a heroic political mold among voters who think alike with him about what's wrong in the country.

He has definitely become the darling of most right-wingers. Barry Goldwater finds Agnew of presidential timber, come 1976. And in the South, Agnew has shown he packs an appeal for the same dissident Democrats and Republicans who preferred George Wallace to Nixon or Humphrey in 1968.

Agnew has thus established himself as a significant political power in his own right because he has dared to use strong language, in phrases people understand, in going after what is in his own mind predominantly the too-long-unchallenged, shrill-voiced, unsilent minority. He filled the frustrating vacuum that existed in the so-called "silent majority." Until Agnew decided to rise and shine, it lacked the voice of a leader.

With significant backing like this, he cannot be thrust aside in 1972. Any delegate effort at the GOP nominating convention that year to supplant him with a liberal as Nixon's running mate would split the party wide open.

So Agnew is sitting pretty, perhaps to pretty from the point of view of some moderate, middle-of-the-road Republican politicians. As for Nixon himself, it is hard so far to figure whether he planned the Agnew emergence just the way it has turned out.

Did he, for example, expect that Agnew would fire up a grass-roots appeal centering around the vice president personally? Or did he think that Agnew would simply light, in his behalf, a candle that would reveal the values in the Administration's sound policies and then move back into the shadows of the vice presidency?

At this point in time, there is no evidence that Agnew is inclined to move back into the shadows or turn over the candle to the President, except on the basis that both hold it together.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

President Went Too Far in Attacks on Press

By VICTOR LASKY

Wasn't it dreadful for the President of the United States to excoriate the nation's press as being "un-American"? In his efforts to force the press to follow the government line on foreign policy, the President went too far when he let loose this outburst:

"The American people are beginning to realize that the things they have read and heard, both from agitators of the legislative variety and the agitators of the newspaper-owned variety, have been pure bunk—B-U-N-K—bunk; that these agitators are appealing to the ignorance, the prejudice and the fears of Americans and are acting in an un-American way."

Let's not kid ourselves. The President was seeking to intimidate the nation's press. For this was no isolated statement. At the same press conference the President accused "a number of newspaper owners [of] deliberately putting before the American people a deliberate misrepresentation of fact—deliberate. . . . I have in front of me, oh, about eight or 10 different newspapers. There isn't one story or one headline in all of those papers that does not give, *to put it politely*, an erroneous impression—not one. . . . These things have been manufactured by deliberate misrepresentation of facts, existing facts. . . ."

The President's deep animus towards the press was further revealed when he was asked at a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) whether he thought American newspapers had been unfair.

"I do not think they have been unfair," was the reply, "but I think they have been more responsible for the inciting of fear in the community than any other factor."

Asked to be specific, he said he could give a thousand examples. As an example, he cited an Associated Press story. "Well, I never expect an AP story to give my side of the lead. I have not for years and I have always managed to survive."

The President then made the outrageous charge that 85 per cent of the nation's newspapers "have been inculcating fear in this country during the past year."

It was obvious that the President was using the majesty of his high office to seek to intimidate dissenters opposed to his policies. This he did by deploring the "many bogies" raised on the score of threats to a free press.

"In these past few years there has been so much resounding thunder about the freedom of the press that one sometimes wonders what it is all about. Is the freedom of the press endangered from without? I doubt it. . . .

"I have always been firmly persuaded that our newspapers cannot be edited in the interests of the general public from the counting room. And I wish we could have a national symposium on that question, particularly in its relation to the freedom of the press. How many bogies are conjured up by invoking that greatly overworked phrase?"

It is true that a war situation does call for a greater emphasis on national security in the press. But the President was wrong when he contended that public information on internal matters should be limited to official handouts, implying "that the officials know best what the public should be told."

The President did not add to the dignity of his office by his personal attacks on individual newspapermen. For example, was it really necessary for him to seek to embarrass Washington correspondents by demanding they go to a corner and put on their dunce caps?

And why was it necessary for the President to present a distinguished correspondent of anti-war views with the Iron Cross medal of the enemy?

Franklin Delano Roosevelt should have known better!

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Agnew and SDX

By DAN BEEBE

In The Oroville (Calif.) *Mercury*

When the Agnew speech was delivered in Des Moines, I happened to be attending a convention of the elite of newspapers and radio—representing 19,500 journalism students and newsmen (press, radio and TV). It was Sigma Delta Chi's annual get-together. I was there merely as a member—not a delegate—thus I was not sealed in the cocoon that wraps itself about the working delegates. I heard the main speakers but kept away from the work sessions.

So it was that I found time to listen to Vice President Agnew's speech in its entirety. Later as I inquired I found no one who had heard the speech and few who had read even a paragraph or two about it. Seemingly, all those who went in at noon for the big luncheon session had only word-of-mouth (hearsay) knowledge that the speech had occurred.

The luncheon speaker was Daniel Schorr, a TV personality and one of those at whom Agnew's address was aimed. After rather dull remarks about Nikita Khrushchev, whom Schorr met in Moscow, Schorr announced that "the rest of my speech will be about Agnew." Cheers! He proceeded to ridicule the vice president and denounce him as a menace to freedom of the press. He repeatedly said Agnew had accused a network clique of conspiring to distort the news. Always he was rewarded with laughter and applause.

I had listened intently to Agnew and did not recall any mention of a conspiracy. Nor had I heard any threat to freedom of the press or to freedom of the network personalities to comment. Rather, he had urged the public to exert pressure against certain practices. I recognized Schorr's speech as self-serving and was chagrined that the audience did not notice the "hearsay" element.

Continued on next page

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Use of Government Files Will Net LBJ Tidy Sum

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The word from Austin, Tex., is that former President Johnson has more than a dozen government archivists plowing through an estimated 31 million pages of private government files which he took with him into retirement.

These papers are reported to have been appraised as worth $40 million. When they are donated eventually to the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library at the University of Texas, Johnson will be eligible for a substantial tax deduction.

The documents will not be released to historians until the former President has used them as the basis for three volumes of memoirs and a series of television interviews from which he stands to realize $1.5 million in fees and royalties. He plans to donate the proceeds to the library and adjoining Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs, another potential tax deduction.

Congress, at the insistence of Sen. John J.Williams (R.-Del.), is now seeking answers to questions which arise from the now common practice of government officials claiming title to all files developed during their terms of office.

Do officials have the right to set up restrictions on the study of these materials, according the privilege only to themselves or friendly historians? Are they entitled to special tax benefits when they deed them to a library, university, or educational organization?

Williams has voiced a strong negative to both questions. He introduced a bill for consideration by the Senate Finance Committee, where he is the ranking Republican, which would close the loophole by making the value placed upon such property taxable as income, thereby offsetting the tax advantage.

Is former President Johnson right in using taxpayer-financed documents for personal gain? Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) is worried about the financial ethics and scholars don't like the potential distortion of history.

"These people are making a profit out of property which properly belongs to the government," Williams said. "These papers are developed by government officials on government time, typed by government secretaries on government paper, and stored in government files."

For a 70 per cent bracket taxpayer like Johnson, the savings can be huge, Williams noted. He called it a racket not sanctified by its employment in the case of such illustrious ex-officeholders as Johnson, former Vice President Humphrey, and dozens of retired congressmen and judges.

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has not waited for retirement. He donates his "personal files" to the Library of Congress each year and takes a tax deduction. They will be sealed from public view, however, until after his death.

Passage of the Williams bill would probably discourage many a lame duck from taking government records with him when he leaves office. But not Presidents, who are fond of libraries bearing their names and books containing amiable accounts of their careers compiled by court historians.

Scholars not enjoying favored status are deeply disturbed by what appears to them to be discrimination in obtaining access to these collections. Johnson, for example, has already specified that papers in his vast collection tending to "embarrass" anyone may not be examined.

The rule is obviously broad enough to bar study of some of the most interesting episodes in his career. Williams accused him of planning a history project "emphasizing his achievements and forgetting his mistakes."

Last September 7, 20 historians, led by Dr. Francis L. Loewenheim of Rice University, Houston, signed a statement charging that documents had been withheld from them at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, N.Y.

Dr. James D. Rhoads, national archivist, who controls all presidential libraries, denied the charge, leaving a conflict in testimony to be resolved.

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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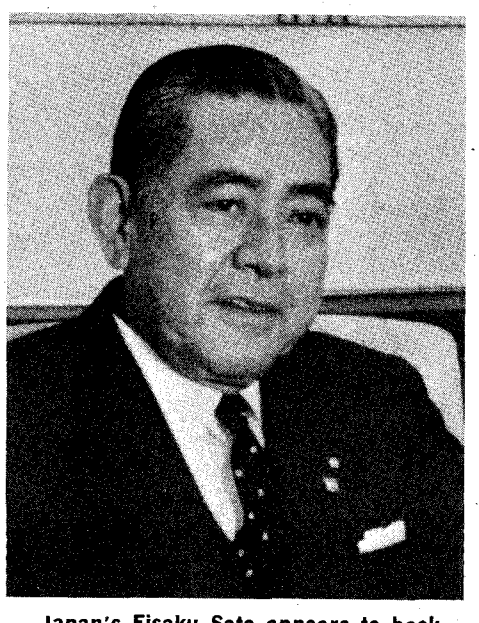
Continued from opposite page

The Okinawa Accord Could Be Worse

From the Chicago *Tribune*

President Nixon and Premier Eisaku Sato of Japan have agreed that Okinawa and the other Ryukyu Islands will be returned to Japan in 1972. The United States, which will retain military bases on Okinawa, recognized Japan's opposition to the storage of nuclear weapons on Okinawa and agreed that the reversion will be carried out "in a manner consistent with the policy of the Japanese government."

In the circumstances this was the best possible solution of the politically and emotionally charged nuclear weapons problem. It will enable President Nixon to assure Congress that the United States has retained "strategic flexibility," while Premier Sato can assure the Japanese Diet that the United States will not stockpile nuclear warheads on the island.



Japan's Eisaku Sato appears to back Nixon's approach to Pacific problems as an agreement is reached on Okinawa.

Premier Sato was under such pressure from Communist, Socialist and ultra-nationalist elements in Japan that his political future might have been jeopardized by a defeat on the explosive nuclear weapons issue. President Nixon went as far as he did to conciliate the Japanese because any possible successor to Premier Sato probably would be far less friendly to the United States.

The United States has ruled Okinawa since its capture in one of the bloodiest battles of World War II. It is the site of a $2-billion military-naval complex, which is essential to the security of the whole western Pacific area. Communist China's emergence as a nuclear power has increased Okinawa's strategic importance, both for air and naval bases and for missile sites. Mainland China could be attacked with missiles from Guam, but they would be a concentrated target for a possible enemy first strike.

Presumably the new agreement will permit the United States to deploy missiles on Okinawa without their nuclear warheads, which could be quickly installed in an emergency. The United States has bases in Japan under the 1960 treaty, but prior consultations with Japan are required before combat operations can be launched. However, the present friendly government has agreed in any emergency involving South Korea or Formosa it will be assumed that the United States has complied with the prior consultation requirement. The same understanding may be extended to Okinawa so long as there is a friendly government in Tokyo.

Although final agreement has not been reached on many details of the Okinawa accord, including the exact date for reversion, Premier Sato agreed in principle that his government will relax restrictions on imports and foreign investments, to offset the rapidly growing surplus in Japan's balance of trade with the United States, which is approaching $2 billion a year.

Japan is the world's third largest economic power, and the United States takes 30 per cent of its exports. There is growing pressure in Congress for economic reprisals against Japan because of its competition with American industry in the domestic market, its restrictionist policy, and the feeling in this country that it is not doing enough for its own defense or that of non-Communist Asia.

In his talks with the President, however, Premier Sato expressed sympathy with the "Nixon doctrine" for Asia, which calls for a reduced American military presence and more effort on the part of the Asians for their own defense. If Japan undertakes to assume its full share of responsibility for the common defense of the western Pacific and Southeast Asia, as well as for economic aid to the less fortunate nations, the new accord may be a milestone in our diplomatic history.

Agnew and SDX

Here were some 800 newsmen who must have spent a large share of their working hours running down rumor and sifting out facts, yet they were accepting as gospel truth the remarks of an involved person. What about the "other side"? I was disappointed, too, to see them swept off their mental feet by ridicule, which I learned long ago was devoid of logic and essentially unfair. There was a standing ovation for Schorr in which I did not participate.

The group had, of course, been conditioned against Agnew as a result of the campaign of ridicule that had been waged against him since the day candidate Nixon chose him as running-mate over such favorites of the press as Mayor Lindsay and Sen. Hatfield.

Demonstrations against Agnew continued during the remaining sessions. Speaker after speaker referred to him in a slurring manner and always brought laughter and cheers. Does this bode well for the present and on-coming generations of news writers? Should they be unanimously out of tune with and intolerant of a very large segment of the American people—those who liked what Agnew said and saw no menace in it to the press?

An official of one of the national networks arose at the final dinner to make a presentation. He began like this: "Mr. Agnew, wherever you are, ladies and gentlemen of the press. . . ." Roars of laughter.

Agnew's speech as I heard it was a calm though vigorous recital of facts as he saw them. It was well documented. He was objecting to the planting of commentators and known opponents of a speaker "in the wings" for instant adverse comment and rebuttal of the speaker's remarks.

Newspapers do not do it that way, nor did this convention. Julian Bond, perhaps the best speaker to address the convention, did as expected. He gave the whites their comeuppance and was ruthless about it. He was given respectful attention and considerable applause. There was no one planted to reply to his charges and point out his errors.

I was not surprised when on my way home I read that the convention had adopted a resolution denouncing Agnew.

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Should the Draft End All College Deferments?

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The Nixon program for reforming the draft is good as far as it goes, but inadequate. In reducing youth exposure to a one-year interval, the Administration will correct an injustice which has long discredited the draft. But in continuing college deferments, the Nixon plan continues the worst injustice of the present draft system.

After being terminated at the close of World War II, Selective Service was reactivated to meet Cold War manpower requirements at a time when the country as a whole was little concerned about military requirements. The easiest action was to sell to Congress a revival of the World War II system. We didn't need such a manpower mobilization system to meet the relatively small peacetime requirements, but that is what we got. The requirement could have been met with more equity by taking a part of each year-group as it came of age.

We tolerated this burdensome and inequitable system for two decades out of sheer official inertia. Every system has its vested interests. And the citizens who suffered the inequities lacked the power to stir a political tempest.

Even now, it is not the draft itself that arouses public concern so much as the war in Viet Nam. The draft became a convenient target for war protesters; and from that attention, some of its inequities have at last been exposed.

The draft became more serious also as men were killed in war. At first the numbers were small, but they underscored the importance of selection methods. Still there was no change in the system. Congress did not want to tamper with a going concern.

It has been unnecessary, unwise and bad public policy to keep young men under the threat of the draft up to age 27. By that age, men who could easily have served earlier had settled down to jobs and families. It was costly and disruptive to call them up for service when plenty of manpower was available from younger classes. This injustice will now be corrected by the Nixon reform program.

But the greatest inequity of the present draft lies in its system of college deferments. Why should some youth be called up and trained for battle while others are deferred to attend college? Deferments operate as class privilege to grant delay to those who by wealth or education qualify for college. Many excuses for deferments are made, but none are adequate.

In time of major war when there is a general mobilization, it may be wise to keep some youth in college until they are required for military service. Preservation of the colleges may even become a proper policy consideration. But these considerations are not relevant to present draft requirements.

The numbers of men required for military service do not have a major impact on national manpower requirements. They can be taken from year classes by random selection without affecting business and industry.

So also, the numbers now taken for military service would have little impact on college attendance. If deferments are eliminated, some men will go to college after service. Others not called would go directly to college. Protecting college enrollment is not a consideration.

What is important is the equal sharing of risk. College youth have a guilt complex in delaying their service while others go to war. The system is not of their making, but it is embarrassing. It should not be so managed. All should take their chances together. Compared with this question of fairness, all other considerations are minor.

Of course a system of random selection without deferment would inactivate Selective Service. Why not? That would be a constructive step toward the goal of a volunteer Army which President Nixon has set.

The Nixon draft reform should be reformed to provide for the elimination of deferments and for the inactivation of Selective Service. We would then have an equitable manpower system.

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SHORTAGE OF WHAT?—"Don't look now, but there's a shortage in the country of managers for jobs paying $100,000 and up per year. Arjay R. Miller says so. He used to be president of the Ford Motor Co., and now is dean of the Stanford Graduate School of Business. Management talent in that category is 'the bottleneck,' he said. Then he went on to explain that the shortage he was deploring is the 'Robert S. McNamara kind of manager, who can run almost anything.' Mr. McNamara now is running the World Bank. Prior to that connection he ran the Defense Department, and the U.S. military involvement in Viet Nam; providing in that managerial capacity his own bottleneck. If that, as he says, is the kind of shortage Mr. Miller has in mind, perhaps it is just as well."—From the Nashville *Banner*

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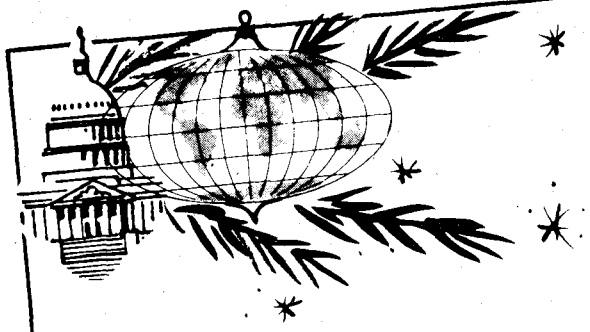

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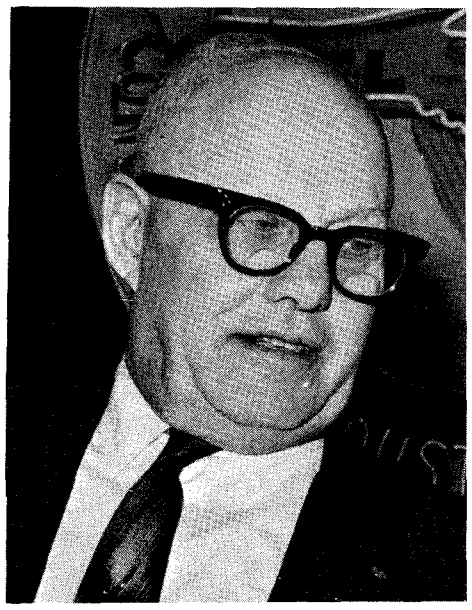

AFL-CIO President George Meany (left) and UAW President Walter Reuther have made the General Electric Co. strike their personal battleground.

Fierce Leadership Struggle Behind General Electric Strike

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

It used to be that "collective bargaining" was a process through which labor and management arrived at equitable decisions on wages, working conditions and other allied matters. The theory was that both sides would act in "good faith" and that in the final settlement management would gather to itself a few goodies—though the National Labor Relations Board has taken the view that it would be crass to bind labor to the terms of the statute.

In all of this, one consideration was to be paramount: Sole interest of the unions was to be the well-being of the employes of the company or industry involved. But now something new and dangerous has been added.

George Meany, nearing the end of his reign as president of the dwindling AFL-CIO, has declared that his goal in the bargaining and strike against the General Electric Co. is to "humble" it. Somewhat less publicly, he has made it known to colleagues and to a few favored newsmen that another major goal is to deliver a solid right and left to the jaw of Walter Reuther, who has had the temerity over the years to oppose Mr. Meany and in the more recent past indulged himself in lese majeste by taking his United Auto Workers out of the labor federation.

Shortly after the split, Mr. Reuther was to be found cozily holding hands with the Teamsters union, bounced out of the AFL-CIO largely through his charges that it was corruption-ridden and a disgrace to the integrity of the labor movement. Mr. Meany thereupon expressed his contempt at this betrayal of principle and accused Mr. Reuther of trying to split the labor movement in the United States.

Mr. Meany's desire to "humble" GE has nothing to do with any complaints over electric toasters or the pay structure of the electrical firm.

His enemy is a philosophy of collective bargaining which he has called "Boulwarism"—add an "ism" to a name and it becomes a dirty word—which would eliminate much of the senseless haggling that passes for contract negotiations.

What Boulwarism means in practice is that the employer lays his cards on the table at the very start of negotiations, explaining how much he can pay and why The labor hierarchy fears this because it lets the striking rank-and-file know exactly what it vould gain by accepting management's offer and what it is losing in wages while its leadership makes faces and plays for political stakes.

There is a third factor in Mr. Meany's vendetta with General Eelctric. Mr. Meany and Mr. Reuther are playing a game of one-upmanship with each other for control of the labor movement in this country. Mr. Reuther has very little direct stake in the GE strike. Only 6,000 of the UAW's approximately 900,000 members are involved—but he is offering a $5-million fund to the GE strikers—money which in one form or another will come out of the pockets of his members and of consumers.

Mr. Meany is so perturbed by this that he has wooed and won the active cooperation of those Teamsters and of the United Electrical Workers, thrown out of the old CIO on charges of "Communist domination." His alliance with the latter union has caused some consternation among those who, over the years, accepted Mr. Meany's protestations of hard-line anti-communism.

To the surprise of some, GE has not collapsed before this mighty demonstration of labor muscle. It offered its package to the unions and their members—a package that took into account both its own resources and the AFL-CIO's lament for a halt to the inflationary cycle. To the shock of Mr. Meany, Mr. Reuther, and the coalition of unions now laying siege to GE, there is a growing feeling among the rank-and-file, now subsisting on AFL-CIO handouts, that the company's offer was a good one and—even more important—that what little more they might get by "humbling" GE will not make up for the weekly loss in wages that striking entails.

It has begun to reach the average member that he has little to gain from the efforts of Mr. Meany and Mr. Reuther to make the GE strike their showdown battleground. He is interested in his personal economic well-being, not Walter Reuther's power play to overthrow George Meany—or George Meany's struggle to retain his throne.

The consumer, of course, has a stake in this—for success by either the Meany or the Reuther faction can only result in higher prices and another rise in the cost of living. He is slow to realize this, for both contenders have wrapped themselves in the cloak of holy warriors —but he will learn in time.

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Union Monopoly in a School

By RUSSELL KIRK

The right to work, as this commentator has remarked before, is the most fundamental of all rights: for unless we can work, we cannot eat (unless one gets on the welfare rolls), and we cannot fulfill the deep-seated yearning to accomplish something.

Another fundamental right is the right to instruction in life: that is, the right to acquire knowledge through our own efforts, without impediments being put in the way. If a man or woman is denied access to the schooling generally provided for others, that man or woman is the victim of gross injustice.

Such abuses never occur in the United States, you think, gentle reader? Well, they do, in more cities than one. Take, for instance, a recent case in Santa Ana, Calif.

Very recently the trustees of Santa Ana school district expelled from a class in bricklaying a Mr. Jake Danielson —a contractor on a small scale, endeavoring to improve his skills through this course at a public institution. Had Mr. Danielson peddled marijuana, set fire to the principal's office, flown the Viet Cong flag from the school flagstaff, extorted funds from his fellow students, or committed any of the merry pranks for which students are so readily forgiven nowadays?

No, nothing of that sort. Jack Danielson had sinned unpardonably: he had not joined a building-trades union, and the local union bosses insisted that only union apprentices be permitted to enroll in this course in bricklaying. Earlier, they had humiliated and handicapped Danielson by refusing him permission to use the class concrete mixer; he had found it necessary to bring his own wheelbarrow, especially purchased by him, to mix mortar. When the union bosses found him still persisting, they brought pressure to have him expelled altogether, he not being an indentured apprentice paying dues to them.

The Orange County Council advised the school board that enrollment could not be confined, in law, to union apprentices only. (The unions don't pay for these "apprenticeship" courses; the state of California pays.) Undeterred by mere matters of legal right, the school board, voting 3 to 2, refused to permit Danielson to enjoy the rights of study and work.

Vocational training in public school systems supported from public funds is available by right, theoretically, to any qualified and well-conducted person, regardless of color, race, religion, and all that. Yet, de facto, it seems not to be available to self-employed persons who don't pay tribute to a union—even though such self-employed persons pay state and local taxes to support the school. Some unions stand above the law—or so some union officials think.

Excluding certain people from apprenticeship is a common device in the building-trades unions for keeping skilled construction labor in short supply (desperately though such labor is needed nowadays) and excluding from the occupation itself categories of people not popular with the union bosses—Negroes, for instance.

Perhaps not much can be done, immediately, to reform unions' own restrictive practices. But certainly there are ways of compelling a public school board to abstain from discriminating against the independent vocational student.

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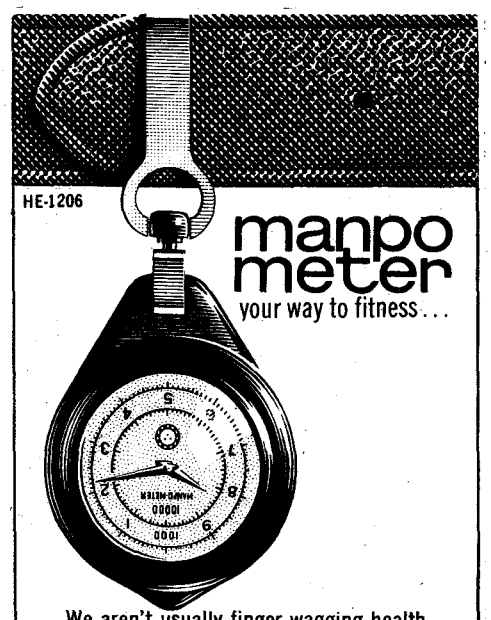

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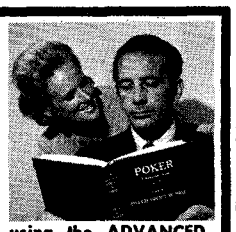

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Peace: The Hollywood Front

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Though the recent far-flung peace offensive was waged at many points, it was only natural that the battle of Pennsylvania Avenue should get most of the headlines.

On November 12, Bob Hope returned from Washington, where he had been made chairman of a committee backing the President's route to peace, and was interviewed on his plans. He explained he hoped for a display of national unity to offset the demonstrations, and asked the citizens to fly the flag, wear red, white and blue armbands, keep auto lights burning, etc., to show their support for Mr. Nixon. He noted that many congressmen and senators, governors and mayors of both parties had agreed to cooperate.

And, in the midst of it, Bob made the interview even more noteworthy by saying he felt the national networks had often been lopsided in their news presentation, and that the liberal tinge had at times played into the hands of Hanoi.

Bob's outburst made all the 6 o'clock news programs on Los Angeles' TV, and was repeated on the later ones. The radio stations also carried it.

And, since that opinion about slanted news from TV's Big Three, is, rightly or wrongly, held by many conservatives—especially since the 1964 campaign—it was the biggest topic of conversation that evening in this area. From 7 p.m. to midnight, my phone rang with friends asking excitedly whether I'd heard Bob.

Next morning I eagerly turned to our liberal paper to see how the story was covered—but in vain. There wasn't

As comedian Bob Hope starts his 19th Christmas tour for GIs stationed abroad, he has some strong words to say about the media.

one cotton-pickin' line about the interview.

That doesn't mean, I hasten to add, that ye ed. was ignoring the situation. There was a two-column headline reading: "Students Will Boycott Classes. Take Part in Anti-War Events—Thousands Will Attend Candlelight Rally Tonight."

Naturally, that set me agog. And from the accompanying story I learned that there was to be a convocation of various high school and junior college students, at which the Nixon policies would be assailed.

This is what is known as interpretive journalism. As the publisher of that daily has so well said, "It is the function of this paper to enlighten the public." And, obviously, that requires judicious selectivity. It would have been silly to run mere trivia at the expense of significant data.

I am told that the Hope interview, though it made L.A. TV, did not appear nationally on the networks. But another Hollywood figure—a far deeper thinker than Bob—did. Paul Newman, who had gone to Washington for the peace march, came on the tube and asked his admirers who were unable to make the trip to line up with him by foregoing attendance to his current film for the three days of the protest.

An exhibitor who had booked the film asked why Mr. Newman, instead of thus penalizing the theaters which had paid the rental for the showing of the film, didn't ask his followers to give up something else for those three days. Say, sex—which would have been an equal sacrifice, but would not have hurt the exhibitor.

That, of course, was a typical capitalistic reaction, which smacked ominously of Spiro Agnew. Giving up sex would be a curtailment of the pursuit of happiness, one of the great rights hallowed in the Declaration of Independence—and would undoubtedly be declared unconstitutional.

Now, I am all for peace—which is why I support the Nixon stance. Yet, to be fair, I see nothing wrong in the Newman appeal and am willing to try that if it will bring Hanoi to its senses.

In truth—in the interest of permanent peace—I'm prepared to give up Newman pictures not only for three days but forever. And I believe that millions might be persuaded to make such a sacrifice it it would unite us. In fact, I think I could get Bob Hope to go for it.

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Teddy and the Draft

From the Allen-Goldsmith Report

Sen. Teddy Kennedy's backdown on demanding extensive changes on the draft wasn't as altruistic as it appeared to be. He had no alternative. Either he accepted the House-passed bill narrowly limiting revision to instituting a lottery system for selecting draftees, or there would be no legislation at all. It was that clear-cut and simple.

That was the blunt notice served on him and other would-be Senate draft "reformers" by leaders of the House Armed Services Committee.

All veteran legislators who are powers in their own right, they are neither awed nor impressed by Kennedy. So they were emphatically clear that while he and other ambitious "reformers" might propose, they were in a position to dispose—and had every intention to do so.

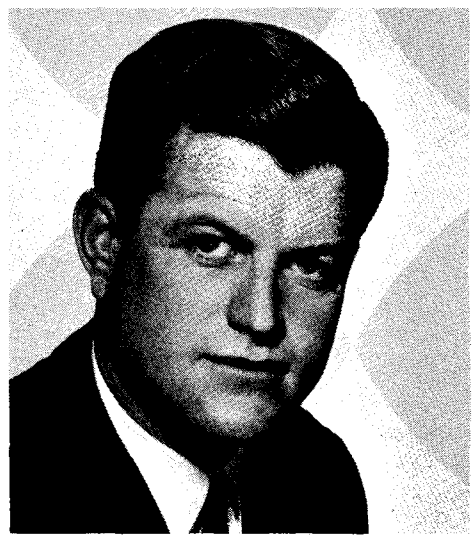
If the House-passed bill was changed by the Senate, they were determinedly prepared to reject it and that would be the end of legislation for a lottery system. And the blame, they firmly added, would be Kennedy's and not theirs.

From Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.), political ally of Kennedy, and other friendly House leaders, he learned that the House Armed Services Committeemen meant exactly what they said. For one thing, it was forcefully pointed out, the Armed Services leaders weren't enthusiastic about lottery legislation to begin with.

The only reason they agreed to put a bill through the House was President Nixon's request for it.

Representatives L. Mendel Rivers (D. S.C.), committee chairman, and F. Edward Hebert (D.-La.), chairman of the subcommittee in charge of the measure, didn't think such legislation was necessary. It was their contention that a random method of selecting draftees could be set up by executive order.

But under White House urging and the personal pleas of Defense Secretary Mel-



Sen. Kennedy failed to have his ideas on draft reform adopted by the Senate.

vin Laird, former House member and an Armed Services Committeeman, Rivers and Hebert gave in and brought out the bill overwhelmingly passed by the House.

So they were in no mood to bow to any rewriting by the Senate—especially by Teddy Kennedy. They are definitely not in the ranks of his admirers or partisans. So when he began proclaiming demands for more changes, they brusquely served notice: "It's either the House bill or none at all."

And that's the way it was.

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It's the Little Things That Really Irritate

By DR. MAX RAFFERTY

Recently I documented for you the major sources of student unhappiness: Viet Nam, civil rights, lack of student participation in school government. Grave and weighty causes these, to be sure, and worthy of a whole forest of placards and platoons of pickets.

But now it's time to set down my own pet peeves, and I fear you will find them somewhat less momentous. I'm not so much wild-eyed about the war, agonized by the A-bomb, or petulant about poverty as I am troubled by the trivial. Here, gentle reader, are the things that burrow under my skin and bug me these days:

• *People who crusade against "war toys" for American tots while the Russians start military training for little Ivan at the age of 10.*

Children have played with tin soldiers and toy swords for centuries. I know of absolutely no research which even hints that letting Junior go "Bang" with an imitation bazooka is going to turn him into a warmongering disciple of mass violence later on in life. Shucks, if toy weapons produced adult violence, I'd be a present-day cross between John Dillinger and Genghis Khan, because as a boy I had a whole arsenal of the things.

A child's play is fantasy. If he's going to turn into a killer later on, it matters little whether he goes "Bang" today with an exact imitation of an M-1 rifle or with his index finger. The *idea* is the whole thing, not the artifact.

• *Demands for "black English" in school.*

First it was "black history," which made a certain amount of sense because it supplied something which had been lacking. Now it's black English, which makes very little sense because it assumes that Negroes are too stupid to learn the Queen's English, an assumption which I can't accept. Next I suppose it will be black math and black science, which will make no sense at all. Let's stop classifying the ancient subject disciplines by race. It's as ridiculous as painting geometry brown or zoology yellow.

• *Experts who promote immorality in the guise of problem-solving.*

Like Dr. Roger Johnson of the Lutheran Hospital Society, who advocates sexuality as the answer to violence: "Perhaps the more we promote intimacy, the less [sic] manifestations of violence we should have."

And psychologists John Marquis and David Newman, who testified at a recent hearing that the sight of topless girls is beneficial to public morals: "Seminude females performing suggestive dances can be good for desensitizing anxieties people have about nudity and sex."

And the college authorities who go all-out for coeducational dormitories and 24-hour-a-day visiting privileges and presumably in the near future communal girl-swapping on a gala, late-Roman Empire scale in order to make higher education more "relevant."

Relevant to what? A brothel?

• *College professors who protest the indictment of student rioters and bullyboys.*

For example, the president of California's San Fernando Valley State College faculty senate, who objected to a county grand jury's indictment of 28 students and instructors for taking over a campus building at knife-point. "It's none of the jury's damn business," charmingly quoth this scholarly apologist for violence in dulcetly Chesterfieldian tones. It's nice to know that someone can tell off a grand jury. After all, what's a grand jury, anyhow? Only the people.

• *Experts who want to do away with report cards because they contain the possibility of failure.*

I'm particularly intrigued with Harvard's Robert Anderson, who foamingly described the humble report card as "stupid and insane." Tsk, tsk. Just think of all the stupidity and insanity which must have afflicted our unfortunate perents and grandparents when they were down in the grades. No wonder they didn't turn out as smart and as superlatively sane as we did.

As I look back over my list of favorite phobias, I find they have one thing in common: educators who should know better jumping on fashionable but gimmicky hobbyhorses for a frenzied gallop into futility, for all the world like Stephen Leacock's famous horseman who leaped upon his steed and rode madly off in all directions.

Too bad the drug industry hasn't yet come up with common-sense pills. The characters in this column alone could use enough to pay off the entire cost of the pharmaceutical research.

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FBI Still Looking Into Oswald Mysteries

By PAUL SCOTT

Six years after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the FBI is still seeking to unravel a number of mysteries involving the activities of Lee Harvey Oswald, the suspected assassin.

Probably the most baffling of these mysteries, still under investigation, is the last letter Lee Harvey Oswald is believed to have written before the Dallas tragedy.

Intercepted and read by the FBI before it arrived at its destination, the Oswald letter was mailed to the Soviet Embassy here in Washington on Nov. 12, 1963—or 10 days before the assassination.

In his request for a Soviet visa, Oswald made reference to the unannounced recall of an official in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City whom he had dealt with during his visit there two months before the assassination. The highly significant reference was as follows:

"Of course the Soviet Embassy was not at fault, they were, as I say unprepared, the Cuban consul was guilty of a gross breach of regulations, I am glad he has since been replaced."

The unanswered question still baffling the FBI is: How did Oswald learn about this official's unannounced recall?

According to the FBI's investigation, there was absolutely no way Oswald could have obtained this information during his September visit to Mexico City, since the secret recall order from Havana was not transmitted until after he had returned to Dallas.

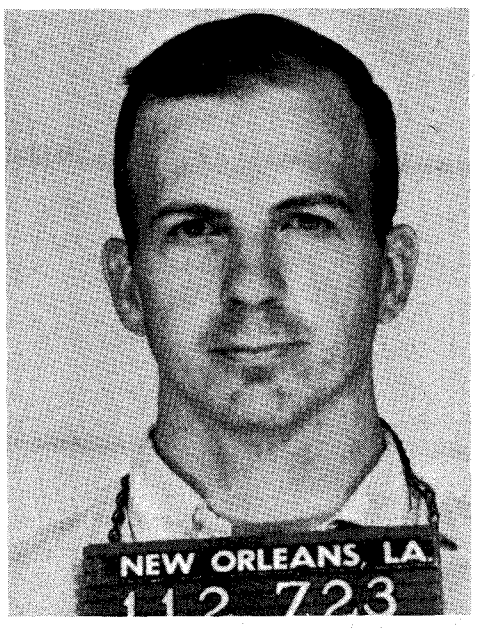
Even then there was no publicity and only a handful of persons know about the recall, one FBI report states. This report, along with several others pertaining to Oswald's trip to Mexico City, has never been released. The reports are among the documents ordered sealed by the Warren Commission following its investigation of the assassinations of Kennedy and Oswald.

During its investigation the Warren Commission spent considerable time trying to check out the letter and its content.

One inquiry directed to the CIA to determine where Oswald might have obtained the unannounced information about the official's recall produced negative results.

The CIA's memoradum to the commission, now declassified and on file in the National Archives, states:

"We surmise that the reference in Oswald's 9 November letter to a man who has since been replaced must refer



How did Lee Harvey Oswald know about the recall of a Castro diplomat in Mexico City?

to Cuban Counsul Eusebio Azque, who left Mexico for Cuba on permanent transfer on 18 November 1963, four days before the assassination.

"Azque was scheduled to leave in October but did not leave until 18 November. We do not know who might have told Oswald that Azque was to be replaced."

In its investigation of the letter, the FBI inquiry ascertained that CIA and KGB operators in Mexico City learned of the official's recall at approximately the same time and only a week before Oswald wrote his letter.

While the FBI investigation has been unable to resolve the mystery, it has narrowed the sources of where Oswald could have obtained the information. These sources are:

(1) An informant in the Cuban Embassy in Mexico City who contacted Oswald after he returned to the U.S.; (2) the Central Intelligence Agency; or (3) the KGB, the Soviet Secret police.

The Warren Commission's inquiry into the Oswald letter, most details of which were buried in the 26 volumes of testimony, revealed that Mrs. Ruth Paine, on whose typewriter the final draft was made, and Marina Oswald, wife of the alleged assassin, knew of the letter and its contents before it was mailed.

Significantly, Mrs. Paine testified Oswald typed the letter while spending the November 9 weekend at her residence with his wife. After observing the letter when Oswald was not around, Mrs. Paine said she copied it. The commission's record shows she turned the copy over to the FBI on November 23, the day after the assassination.

One report reveals that the FBI agents involved in the intercept copied the text of the letter and put it in Oswald's Washington file with a note that one paragraph verified earlier information on Oswald's Mexico City visit.

The FBI report pointed out that Oswald's mention of "Comrade Kostin" in the letter confirmed a CIA report that he had met with Valerity Vladimirovich Kostikov, a member of the consular staff of the Soviet Embassy, and one of the top KGB officers in the Western Hemisphere.

But the FBI report did not answer the question of how and when Oswald learned that Cuban Consul Eusebio Azque was recalled. Several government investigators believe if this mystery could be solved that it would go a long way toward determining whether Oswald had any accomplices.

President Nixon has the authority to make public the documents that the Warren Commission decided to keep secret after its investigation of the Kennedy assassination.

That's the private report that Atty. Gen. John Mitchell has sent to the White House after studying the Johnson Administration's handling of the storing of the commission's files in the National Archives.

Mitchell ruled that the President has broad authority to declassify all of the commission's documents under the National Freedom of Information Act passed by Congress in 1966.

Approximately two-thirds of the commission's estimated 28,000 documents have been declassified since it published its findings on Sept. 28, 1964.

The remaining one-third, which includes a number of CIA and FBI reports believed to have significant news value, are still barred from public scrutiny.

Many of these documents deal with Lee Harvey Oswald's trip to Mexico City.

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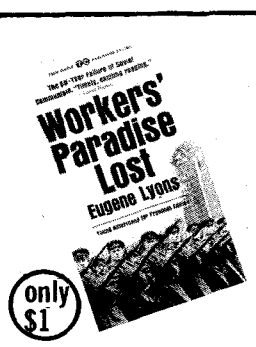

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How to Prevent Minority Rule

The case for preferential voting

By HENRY HAZLITT

A democracy rests on the principle of majority rule, or at least of majority consent. It cannot remain peaceful and viable when faulty election methods can lead to rule by minorities. When three or more candidates contest a primary or an election, a single-choice ballot, with mere plurality counting, always involves danger of the election of a candidate detested by the majority of the voters.

A run-off election, with all its clumsiness and expense, is at least better than this. This is the truth recognized in the run-off provision of the constitutional amendment proposed by the House of Representatives for direct election of a President. But to allow the voter a second choice in a tri-cornered or multi-cornered election would accomplish this result without the need of a subsequent run-off, and accomplish it more satisfactorily.

Both the first and second elections of John V. Lindsay as mayor of New York were made possible only by a voting system that does not allow the voter to mark a second choice. Under our present system the will of the majority can be distorted or thwarted whenever there are more than two candidates in the field. The system discourages not only the emergence of third parties, but even the casting of protest votes.

Mayor Lindsay has been twice elected by a minority. He has been twice elected because the majority against him was split. This year he polled only 42 per cent of the vote; 58 per cent of the voters didn't want him. But that 58 per cent was split into 35 per cent for Mario Procaccino and 23 per cent for John J. Marchi.

It is probable, but not certain, that if the voters for Marchi had also been allowed to express a second choice they would have given Procaccino a plurality over Lindsay. But what is highly probable, almost to the point of certainty, is that if the expression of a second choice had been allowed in the Democratic primary election last June, Procaccino would not have been the Democratic candidate at all.

In that primary only 36 per cent of the enrolled Democrats bothered to vote. Of those who did, only 33 per cent voted for Procaccino, leaving 67 per cent divided among the other four candidates. As those four split the Democratic liberal vote among them it is a practical certainty that if an alternative vote had been permitted, either former Mayor Wagner, who ran second, or Herman Badillo, who ran third, would have won the nomination. Either would have carried the bulk of the regular Democratic vote in the subsequent election, and would have been the new mayor.

A majority preferential method of voting would provide a real reflection of the majority will, and prevent a minority of the voters from imposing their choice on the majority.

There is nothing startlingly novel about such a method of voting. It has been used in the past in this country in a large number of primaries and municipal elections. It is used today in Australia in the national election to Parliament.

The reason it is not more widely used is that most of the methods advocated or employed, aiming at a needless mathematical precision, have called for repeated counting of the ballots, have required a central count, or have been otherwise so complicated as to baffle voters or to make them suspect that if they voted for an alternative choice they might defeat their first choice.

A majority preferential system of voting, in order to be politically acceptable, should be simple, easy to understand, and call for no more than two countings of the ballots to decide the outcome.

These requirements, whenever there are more than two candidates on the ballot, can be fulfilled by the simple device of allowing (though not requiring) the voter to mark his second choice in addition to his first.

If on a first counting any candidate received a majority of all first choices, he would of course be declared elected, as under the single-vote system. If no candidate received a majority of all first choices, however, second choices would then also be counted. If any candidate were thus shown to be either the first or second choice of a majority of the voters participating, he would be declared elected. If, however, still no candidate obtained an absolute majority, then the candidate with the largest combined number of first and second choices would be declared elected.

Because each voter could name two choices, it could conceivably (though rarely) happen that more than one candidate would receive a combined total of first and second votes equal to more than a majority of the number of voters participating in the election. If this happened, it would seem to reflect the voters' wishes best to count the second choices as equivalent to only half a vote each. The winning candidate would then be the one who was not only acceptable to more than a majority of the voters, but who in the overwhelming majority of cases had been also the first choice of more voters than was any other candidate.

Either Mario Procaccino (above) or John Marchi would probably have been elected mayor of New York had the perferential voting system been in effect.

There are other forms of a majority preferential system that allow the voter to indicate also his third, fourth or even later preference among a large number of candidates; but these systems usually necessitate multiple countings of the ballots, in addition to requiring the ballots to be brought to a central point. The slight increase in precision that might sometimes result hardly seems enough to justify such added complications.

A preferential system of voting would prevent the outcome that the present single-choice method so often permits—election by a minority or a candidate unwanted or even hated and feared by the majority.

The option of naming a second choice would prevent a situation in which a voter is afraid to vote for the candidate he likes best (for fear of "throwing away his vote"), and votes instead merely for the candidate he thinks has the best chance of defeating the candidate he most fears.

Majority preferential voting is most urgently needed in primary elections, as long as there are going to be primary elections. When a man can be chosen the candidate of his party with only a third or less of the primary vote, like Procaccino, the result is a clear miscarriage of the representative principle. Yet this sort of thing is constantly happening in primary elections, which typically involve more than two candidates. (There were five in New York City's Democratic primary.) The victor then requires a mere plurality over his nearest rival. Certainly the party nominee should be the candidate who comes closest to representing the dominant choice of his own party.

Conservatives especially should today favor a majority preferential system. It is anybody's guess how many of those who really preferred Marchi voted for Procaccino in the last New York mayoralty election. But if the pre-election polls had been closer, and had given Procaccino a better chance, many thousands of Marchi people would have switched to him. As matters stand, New York Conservatives are left wondering whether the effect of their party has not been to assure Lindsay's two elections, and to make easier the election of leftist Republicans whenever the Democrats nominate someone less leftist.

It is true that preferential voting might also encourage the emergence of leftist parties. But its main effect would be to reflect the real majority will, to mitigate the power and arbitrariness of the major party machines, and to elect officials that more nearly represent the center.

Some conservatives may be suspicious of preferential voting because they vaguely associate it with proportional representation. There could be no greater confusion. Proportional representation tends to split the electorate and legislatures chosen by it into a multiplicity of warring minorities in which no one truly represents the majority, in which extremism of all sorts is encouraged, and in which government is chronically weak and unstable.

Preferential voting has the exactly opposite effects. It elects candidates truly favored by a majority. It encourages the candidates who most nearly represent a concensus.

A majority preferential system of voting is no longer an academic issue. The proposed constitutional amendment for the direct election of the President, passed by an overwhelming vote in the House of Representatives, provides that if the leading candidate fails to receive at least 40 per cent of the total vote, a run-off election must be held between the two leading candidates.

This provision seems to have been adopted with little thought. A run-off election is unsettling, irritating, and terribly expensive. And it may not perform the function it is supposed to perform. It forces the voters to choose among two candidates, whereas the candidate who received the third largest number of votes may really be the one most acceptable to the majority.

Suppose that in a three-cornered race A receives 35 per cent of the vote, B 33, and C 32. C might be the most acceptable compromise, but would be excluded from participating in a run-off. If in the last presidential election there had been statewide run-off elections in states in which none of the three candidates had a majority, the run-off in Arkansas and Louisiana, for example, would have been between Wallace and Humphrey.

These problems would be eliminated in a majority preferential system. The option of a second choice would make a run-off unnecessary. In addition, it would elect the candidate really most preferred. If no candidate got an absolute majority of the total vote, it would be mainly because voter indifference had prevented it.

It is true that many and perhaps most voters would not take advantage of the privilege of naming a second choice. Whenever a voter thought his first choice had a strong chance of winning, he might be unwilling to imperil it by naming a second choice. He would be most likely to name his second choice when he suspected that his first choice was likely to run third or worse. But this minority use of a second choice is all that is really needed to determine the real majority preference.

In the 1968 presidential election the Wallace candidacy came near to electing Humphrey, and earlier threatened to throw the election into the House. As it was, nobody could be sure how many votes Wallace had drawn respectively from Humphrey and from Nixon. But if the voters were free to name a second choice, such questions would be answered, and the winning candidate would be the majority's real preference.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

An American's 'Hero'

By REP. J. HERBERT BURKE (R.-Fla.)

I glanced through the Veterans Day edition of the Washington *Post* and noticed a glaring headline that read, "Dr. Levy Says Che Is His Hero."

Who is Dr. Howard Levy? He is the New York doctor who was jailed two years ago for refusing to teach medical skills to Green Berets while serving in the U.S. Army and is now released on appeal bond from federal prison.

The doctor, who is now working for some group called the "Health Policy Advisory Center" in New York City, told the American Public Health Association at a recent meeting that Ernesto "Che" Guevara was his model hero. He states that, "A true revolutionary is motivated by feelings of love. Three or four years ago I was a budding practitioner ready to make my $50,000 a year. Now I'm a radical."

This so-called American further challenged the liberals in the group to decide whether they want to support the revolutionaries or the government of the U.S., which has the power which he and the other radicals want. He then said, "They've got the power, but we're going to get it, and no one is going to stand in our way."

Although the news story indicated that he received only mild applause, yet there were in the audience a few who jumped to their feet and displayed the revolutionary symbol of the clinched fist.

This incident and other similar incidents graphically brought home to me the need for the patriotic forces in our society to stand up and be counted for America before the likes of Dr. Levy and other radicals count them out.

Cut Giveaway

By REP. JOHN T. MYERS (R.-Ind.)

The foreign aid program always has been justified by its proponents on the grounds that the U.S. is the richest nation in the world. Indeed, the U.S. is the richest nation measured by most yardsticks. However, if the yardstick of the national debt is applied, you will find that the U.S. owes $57 billion more than the total of the national debts of all other nations of the world. Federal taxes are at their highest level, to say nothing of state and local taxes. We hear with increasing frequency of a taxpayers' revolt. Common sense and simple arithmetic demand that the foreign aid program be cut drastically. It is time we seriously re-examine the goals of this program. The American people have a right to expect sound administration of their funds and solid progress as a result. Until Congress initiates real reforms, I will not be able to support this program.

□□□

HENRY HOWELL, liberal Democrat who ran a strong but losing effort in Virginia's recent Democratic gubernatorial primary, is ready to challenge Sen. Harry Byrd Jr. for renomination next year. Republicans hope that the likelihood of Howell's challenge will prompt "Little Harry" to switch parties and run for re-election on the GOP ticket.

Dangers of Lifting Poverty Hopes

By REP. ED ESHLEMAN (R.-Pa.)

Because we walk on the moon, there is nothing we men—especially we Americans—cannot do if we simply set our minds to it. We can eliminate poverty, rebuild our cities, clean up our streams, freshen our air. You name it. We can do it. That's the kind of moon madness that has afflicted us as a result of Apollo successes.

To believe that because we have the technical and managerial skill to reach the moon, we also have the skill to solve immediately our problems at home is both erroneous and dangerous because it can lead to expectations that cannot be fulfilled.

The moon goal was reasonably easy to define precisely. The solutions to our major problems back here on earth cannot be given simple definitions—and some cannot be defined at all.

Consider, for example, the problem of trying to clean up water pollution. Early in his term of office, President Johnson said he wanted to be able to swim safely in the Potomac River before he left the White House. This set a dandy goal for the Water Pollution Control Administration. They didn't know where in the river he wanted to swim or just exactly when he planned to leave the White House. Anyway, they set about doing the preliminary planning. Finally they came up with an estimate that the Potomac along the District of Columbia shore could be made swimmable at a cost of $2 billion.

That's an awful lot of money—enough, in fact, to build a private swimming pool in the back yard of every home in Washington.

Or, take the matter of curing poverty. One organization wants us to dedicate the nation to eliminating poverty by 1976. While this goal is worthy, it is not nearly as easy to define poverty precisely as it is to point to the moon and say, "go there." And if you fail to reach the moon, there will be disappointment, but if you promise to eliminate poverty and fail, you might have revolution.

□□□

ROMNEY WON'T RUN—Despite the urgings of party officials and, no doubt, President Nixon himself, Cabinet officer George Romney will not return to Michigan next year to challenge incumbent Democratic Sen. Philip Hart. Romney had won three terms as Michigan governor before leaving the post last year to become secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In announcing his reluctance to get back into political campaigning, Romney did say, however, that he considered the liberal Hart to be "one of the reasons the nation has problems as great as it has today."

House Trims, Then Passes Foreign Aid

Following is the 185-to-157 rollcall by which the House of Representatives voted on November 20 to reduce by $50 million annually funds for the development loan program as part of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1969. This vote, a small conservative victory, followed a 176-to-170 vote to increase military aid to Nationalist China by $54.5 million. The development fund cutback was sponsored by Rep. Ross Adair (R.-Ind.) and the increase in aid to Chiang Kai-Shek by Rep. Bob Sikes (D.-Fla.).

DEMOCRATS FOR: 68

Addabbo
Anderson (Tenn.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Baring
Barrett
Bennett
Biaggi
Brinkley
Burleson (Tex.)
Burlison (Mo.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Caffery
Casey
Chappell
Daniel (Va.)
Davis (Ga.)
Delaney
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Dulski
Fallon
Fisher
Flowers
Galifianakis
Gaydos
Gray
Hagan
Haley
Hanley
Hays
Hebert
Henderson
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (N. C.)
Kazen
Landrum
Lennon
Long (La.)
Long (Md.)
Macdonald (Mass.)
Mahon
Mann
Marsh
Melcher
Natcher
Nichols
Passman
Pickle
Pryor (Ark.)
Purcell
Randall
Rarick
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
Shipley
Slack
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taylor
Waggonner
Watts
White
Whitten

REPUBLICANS FOR: 117

Adair
Arends
Ashbrook
Beall (Md.)
Berry
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Bow
Bray
Brock
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Burke (Fla.)
Bush
Button
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Cleveland
Collier
Collins
Conable
Corbett
Coughlin
Cowger
Cramer
Cunningham
Davis (Wis.)
Dennis
Derwinski
Duncan
Erlenborn
Eshleman
Fish
Foreman
Frey
Fulton (Pa.)
Goldwater
Goodling
Gross
Hall
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha
Harvey
Hastings
Hogan
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
King
Kleppe
Landgrebe
Latta
Lloyd
Lujan
Lukens
McClure
McDade
McDonald (Mich.)
McEwen
McKneally
Martin
Mayne
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mize
Mizell
Myers
O'Konski
Pelly
Pettis
Pirnie
Poff
Price (Tex.)
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Rhodes
Riegle
Roth
Ruppe
Ruth
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Schneebeli
Scott
Sebelius
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N. Y.)
Snyder
Springer
Stanton
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Teague (Calif.)
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Whitehurst
Wiggins
Williams
Winn
Wyatt
Wydler
Wyman
Zion

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 125

Adams
Anderson (Calif.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Bingham
Blanton
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Burke (Mass.)
Burton (Calif.)
Carey
Celler
Chisholm
Clark
Clay
Cohelan
Conyers
Culver
Daddario
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Eckhardt
Edwards (Calif.)
Evans (Colo.)
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, William
Fountain
Fraser
Friedel
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Hamilton
Harrington
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Jacobs
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kluczynski
Koch
Kyros
Lowenstein
McFall
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Mikva
Miller (Calif.)
Minish
Mink
Mollohan
Monagan
Morgan
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Nedzi
Nix
Obey
O'Hara
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patten
Perkins
Philbin
Pike
Podell
Preyer (N. C.)
Price (Ill.)
Rees
Reuss
Rivers
Rodino
Roe
Rooney (N. Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Sisk
Smith (Iowa)
Stafford
Taft
Weicker
Whalen
Wilson, Bob

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 32

Broomfield
Broyhill (N. C.)
Cahill
Conte
Dwyer
Esch
Findley
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Gubser
Gude
Halpern
Hammerschmidt
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton
Keith
McClory
McCloskey
Mailliard
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
Quie
Reid (N. Y.)
Robison
Schwengel
Taft
Weicker
Whalen
Wilson, Bob

PRESENT: 1 NOT VOTING: 89

Following is the 176-to-163 rollcall vote by which the House on the same date passed the foreign aid authorization bill of $2.19 billion. The bill calls for $437 million less than the Administration requested, but is still $435 million more than approved last year. Appropriations, however, have yet to be voted on and further cuts are possible.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 106

Anderson (Calif.)
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Aspinall
Barrett
Biaggi
Bingham
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brasco
Brooks
Burke (Mass.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey
Celler
Clark
Culver
Daddario
Dent
Diggs
Donohue
Dulski
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Ford, William
Fraser
Friedel
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Pa.)
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Harrington
Hathaway
Hays
Hebert
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Jacobs
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karth
Kazen
Kee
Kyros
McFall
Macdonald (Mass.)
Madden
Mahon
Mann
Matsunaga
Melcher
Miller (Calif.)
Minish
Monagan
Morgan
Murphy (Ill.)
Nix
O'Hara
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patten
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Podell
Preyer (N. C.)
Price (Ill.)
Pryor (Ark.)
Purcell
Rivers
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Rooney (N. Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Sisk
Smith (Iowa)
Stratton
Sullivan
Symington
Tiernan
Udall
Vigorito
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Wright
Yatron
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 70

Arends
Beall (Md.)
Biester
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Bush
Button
Cahill
Cederberg
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Coughlin
Cunningham
Davis (Wis.)
Dennis
Dwyer
Erlenborn
Esch
Findley
Fish
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Gubser
Gude
Halpern
Hansen (Idaho)
Heckler (Mass.)
Hogan
Horton
Keith
Lloyd
McClory
McCloskey
McDade
McEwen
McKneally
Mailliard
Mayne
Morse
Morton
Nelsen
Pelly
Pirnie
Quie
Reid (N. Y.)
Rhodes
Riegle
Robison
Roth
Ruppe
Schneebeli
Schwengel
Smith (N. Y.)
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Vander Jagt
Weicker
Wiggins
Wilson, Bob
Wyatt
Wydler

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 86

Adams
Andrews (Ala.)
Ashley
Baring
Bennett
Blanton
Brademas
Brinkley
Burleson (Tex.)
Burlison (Mo.)
Burton (Calif.)
Caffery
Casey
Chappell
Chisholm
Clay
Cohelan
Conyers
Daniel (Va.)
Davis (Ga.)
Delaney
Dingell
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Eckhardt
Edwards (Calif.)
Fisher
Flowers
Foley
Galifianakis
Gaydos
Green (Ore.)
Hagan
Haley
Hawkins
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Henderson
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (N. C.)
Kastenmeier
Koch
Landrum
Lennon
Long (La.)
Long (Md.)
Lowenstein
Marsh
Meeds
Mikva
Mink
Mollohan
Moss
Natcher
Nedzi
Nichols
Obey
Olsen
Passman
Randall
Rarick
Rees
Reuss
Roe
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
Shipley
Slack
Staggers
Stokes
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taylor
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Waggonner
Waldie
Watts
White
Whitten
Yates

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 77

Adair
Ashbrook
Berry
Betts
Blackburn
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broyhill (N. C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Burke (Fla.)
Carter
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Cleveland
Collier
Collins
Cowger
Cramer
Derwinski
Duncan
Eshleman
Foreman
Frey
Goldwater
Gross
Hall
Hammerschmidt
Harsha
Harvey
Hastings
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
King
Kleppe
Landgrebe
Latta
Lujan
Lukens
McClure
McDonald (Mich.)
Martin
Meskill
Michel
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mize
Mizell
Mosher
Myers
O'Konski
Pettis
Poff
Price (Tex.)
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Ruth
Sandman
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scott
Sebelius
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Snyder
Steiger (Ariz.)
Thompson (Ga.)
Wampler
Whalen
Whitehurst
Williams
Winn
Wyman
Zion

PRESENT: 4 NOT VOTING: 89

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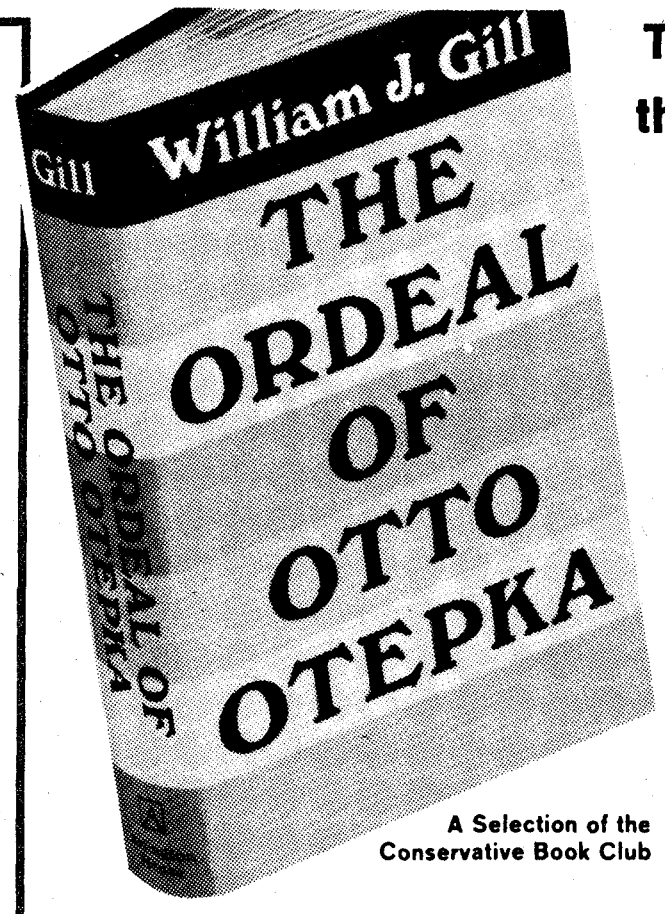
William Gill's Revelations About the State Dept. Are More Than History. Many of These Men Are Still There!

- Dean Rusk and Bobby Kennedy order Otepka to issue a top-secret clearance to a prominent security risk.
- Richard Nixon introduces a bill in 1951 that would have saved Otepka. But the bill dies in committee.
- Dean Acheson and Nelson Rockefeller clear the notorious John Stewart Service.
- The lengths to which John Kennedy went to placate Liberal fears that he was "soft on McCarthyism."
- Rusk's little-known role in the fall of China, and in keeping our hands tied in Korea.
- Distortions in Rusk's testimony over his relationship with the Communist-run IPR.
- The Rostow plan for surrendering U.S. sovereignty. Other JFK advisors who agreed.
- Dr. Jerome Weisner promises Soviet scientists to fight against any ABM system.
- State plays the numbers game to hide massive cuts in the security office.
- "Channels" defeat J. Edgar Hoover — and another nation falls to the Communists.
- Who was the mysterious Senor Montenegro? Why did the President stick his neck out for him?
- The gay Undersecretary of State who, against his deepest desires, unintentionally helps install Batista as Cuba's strongman.
- Rusk signs 152 security waivers in his first 14 months when only five had been issued in eight years under Eisenhower — and two of those five backfired.
- Can the *New York Times'* vendetta against Otto Otepka be explained solely in terms of its inveterate anti-anti-Communism? No, says Senator Strom Thurmond, since the name of "one of the principals in the Otepka case is printed at the top of the newspaper's masthead." That name — and its connection with the case — is revealed in this book.
- A rare pro-security decision from the Supreme Court subverted by a weird coterie of State and Justice Department lawyers.
- The prominent New Frontier official who asked Otepka: "What are the chances of getting Alger Hiss back into government?"
- Massive Soviet penetration of our intelligence agencies: the ominous evidence.
- Important defector from Poland is foiled in his attempt to contact the FBI — the one U.S. agency he knew was free of Soviet penetration.
- Three top American scientists, each with access to highly classified material, identified as KGB agents.
- Did the sack of Otepka lead, obliquely, to the assassination of President Kennedy?
- The strange twists and turns of Senator Thomas Dodd: were they partially explained when his unethical practices were brought to light?
- Evidence that Lee Harvey Oswald was a member of KGB.
- *High White House staffer learns of Pueblo* seizure, keeps the President in the dark for hours. (This same man had been refused a security clearance by Otepka.)
- State employee first corroborates Otepka's statements, then changes his mind — after an "accident."
- The promise from Senators Goldwater, Thurmond and Dirksen that persuaded Otepka to take the SACB appointment.



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The Ordeal Of Otto Otepka

by William J. Gill

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But this is much more than one man's struggle. In these pages we learn...

- how America became enmeshed in a bloody land war in Viet Nam;
- why Washington allowed the Berlin Wall to go up;
- how Russia was allowed to overtake our lead in nuclear weapons;
- why Russia had no worries about moving into Czechoslovakia;
- why Cuban revolutionaries can move in and out of America with impunity;
- why Teddy Kennedy fought so bitterly against President Nixon's appointment of Otto Otepka to SACB.

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